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ABSTRACT

The first of three parts of this review of Turkey's educational system and national educational policies, the examiner's report, begins by singling out essential features of modern Turkey that affect the provision of education and to which the system is having to respond. These include Turkey's unique geographic situation, its continuing devotion to the ideals and principles of Ataturk, founder and first President of the Republic, its rapidly expanding economy but continuing heavy reliance on agriculture, it high birth rate, and its increasing urbanization. On basic education the examiners note with approval the authorities' determination to retain small schools but consider that some changes are needed in order to make teaching there more effective. A sector facing particularly pressing problems is lower secondary education, mainly because of the rapid rate at which it is being extended to the relevant age group. A curriculum originally designed for an academically oriented minority must now be re-designed to satisfy a wider range of needs and interests. Turkey has decided to offer a diversified system after basic education with strong emphasis on vocational and technical training. One problem in the area of teacher training is the low academic caliber of candidates. A record of the review meeting, with the replies to the examiners' questions, is given in part 2 of the document, and part 3 supplies a background report prepared by the Turkish authorities on educational activities in Turkey from 1984 to 1986. (PBB)

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REVIEWS OF NATIONAL POLICIES FOR EDUCATION

TURKEY

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In this review of educational policy in Turkey, the examiners were asked to consider the education system as a whole excluding higher education as such but not teacher training.

The examiners begin by singling out essential features of modern Turkey that affect the provision of education, and to which the system is having to respond. These include Turkey's unique geographic situation, its continuing devotion to the ideals and principles of Ataturk, its rapidly expanding economy but continuing heavy reliance on agriculture, its high birth rate, and its increasing urbanisation.

On basic education they note with approval the authorities' determination to retain small schools but consider that some changes are needed in order to make teaching there more effective. They also point to the tendency for teaching in all schools to be authoritarian and didactic, something that reflects too much centralised control and an overloaded curriculum. School-based initiatives in curricular design and the choice of textbooks and teaching aids would be beneficial. A sector facing particularly pressing problems is lower secondary education, mainly because of the rapid rate at which it is being extended to the whole age group. A curriculum originally designed for an academically oriented minority must now be re-designed to satisfy the needs of a wide range of abilities and interests. The examiners endorse the authorities' plans to extend pre-schooling, despite the severe lack of resources, and encourage them to intensify their efforts to serve the interests of disadvantaged groups, notably the children living in slum areas of towns and cities.

After basic education, Turkey has decided to offer a diversified system with strong emphasis on vocational and technical training. Noting the authorities' objective of drastically reducing the dominance of the traditional academic curriculum, the examiners wonder how the specific aim of attracting 60 per cent of pupils in the age group into technical and vocational education can be achieved. What steps will be taken, they ask, to involve employers and unions in the education and training process? They single out the strategy of expanding and improving the apprenticeship system as being especially important. One other area of special concern to which they draw attention is the teaching of foreign languages. Turkey sets an unusually high premium on this, but lacks suitably qualified teachers.

On teacher training the most striking fact discerned by the examiners is the recent transfer of total responsibility to the universities. They are not against this transfer in principle but point out that it is causing serious problems that will become deep-seated if not addressed at once. One outstanding problem is the low academic calibre of candidates for a teaching career. The quality of the existing teaching force is also causing the authorities some concern. The examiners are struck by the stupendous effort being made to upgrade tens of thousands of teachers through courses offered by the recently established Open University but still consider that there is a need for a really strong, continuing in-service programme. A special problem has to do with the great shortage of vocational and technical teachers both in schools and enterprises.

On the functioning of the education system as a whole the examiners perceive several priority needs and offer suggestions for dealing with them: greater co-ordination of educational policies with other national policies; ensuring that quantitative expansion does not lead to significant qualitative decline and regional imbalances; devolving responsibilities and powers to the regional and local level; improving the structure and professional competency of the Ministry of Education; strengthening research and development capacity; devising effective instruments for monitoring the system.

A record of the review meeting, with the replies to the examiners' questions, constitutes Part Two of this volume, and Part Three reproduces the background report prepared for this review by the Turkish authorities.

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Part One

THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

THE OECD EXAMINERS

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I

THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Ataturk's legacy

On entering a classroom in a Turkish school five symbols displayed on the wall behind the teacher strike the eye: the flag of Turkey; a portrait of Ataturk, the founder and first President of the Republic; one of Ataturk's several resounding declarations on education in bold print; the wording of the Istiklal Marsi, the "March of Independence", calling to mind the liberation of the country in 1923; last but not least, the map of Turkey.

The map exercises a growing fascination upon the visitor. Comprising 97 per cent of the area of Turkey, the Anatolian highlands form a tremendous bridge between east and west linking for more than one and a half thousand kilometers Europe with the Orient. In the autumn of 1986 we were able to see only a small sector of this large country with its coast line of more than eight thousand kilometers and extensive common frontiers with six neighbours: Greece 212 km, Bulgaria 269 km, the Soviet Union 610 km, Iran 454 km, Iraq 331 km and Syria 877 km.

Its unique geographic situation at the intersection between Western Europe, the Eastern block, the Arab world and the Mediterranean Sea contributes to the political as well as the growing economic importance of the country. In an area of 774 815 sq. km that equals that of France and the Federal Republic of Germany combined lives a population of approximately 50 millions (1985), still increasing at an annual growth rate of about 2.5 per cent, the highest among OECD countries. Thus, whereas there were 20 million Turks in 1950, a population of nearly 56 millions is forecast for the year 1990. More than one million children are born each year giving Turkish society a youthful character contrary to the ageing trend in most other OECD countries. That society is also characterised by cultural pluralism, a factor that has always to be borne in mind by the national authorities.

Governance and administration of the country are firmly centralised. The country is subdivided into 67 provinces, which in turn are subdivided into administrative districts. Governors of the provinces are appointed by the central government and the regional departments correspond to the ministries in Ankara. The municipalities with their elected mayors exercise considerable powers.

As fascinating as the map of Turkey is the man whose portrait you see everywhere in schools, government offices and in the streets in ever new guises: as President of the State,

Mustafa Kemal, later on named "Ataturk", meaning "Father of the Turks"; as General Kemal Pascha who, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of World War I, had freed the Turkish heart land from the occupying powers, removed the Sultan and Kalif, the worldly as well as religious sovereign, and founded the Republic of Turkey with Ankara as its capital. A visit to the Ataturk Mausoleum situated on a hill above Ankara makes the guest from abroad aware of the integrative function Ataturk's towering personality and precepts still perform for the Turkey of today and for the future of the country.

To establish the capital in the heart of Anatolia and not in Istanbul, which had been the centre of the Ottoman Empire, was a strategic as well as a symbolic act: the new republic was designed to become the state of the Turkish nation, of the people of Anatolia who, during the 600 years' history of the Empire, had been compelled to serve the Sultan as soldiers and the Agas, the big rural estate owners, as bondsmen. Ankara as the capital would, furthermore, symbolize the political will of the new republic to abandon the imperial pretensions of the old empire and to confine itself to the heartland of the Turks.

Thus, as a modern nation state the Republic of Turkey is a relatively young entity, though it could build up on the long and prestigious history of the Ottoman Empire which had comprehended many nations and peoples. The artistic creations of the Ottoman era, its architecture, its paintings and its craftsmanship, are now carefully preserved. The tradition of showing warm hospitality to travellers and visitors remains intact. But the failure of the Ottomans to modernize and to democratize the Empire, to invest in its infrastructure and in the education of its people, and to develop the heartland of the Turks has left behind continuing problems.

The opening to the West which the Republic pursued from the twenties onwards and Ataturk's radical social and political reforms are still determinants for Turkey today. Another element of crucial importance for the texture of Turkish society and public life is the dominant religion of Islam. Nearly 99 per cent of the Turkish population are Moslems. Ataturk made Turkey a secular republic. The separation of state and religion, the replacement of islamic laws by a civil code and a penal law according to European models, the introduction of the western alphabet, the establishment of civil rights corresponding to Western democracies, the introduction of equal rights for women – by these and other far-reaching reforms Ataturk created the conditions for the modernization of Turkey. Without them the country would not have become part of the Western political sphere and would have gone an entirely different way.

Among the government, the military leadership, the centre of the political spectrum, and the overwhelming majority of public administrators, there is a consensus to stick firmly to the basic principles of the Republic, including its secular character, and to push forward economic and social modernization. Such a basic consensus also exists about returning to democracy after the military regime from 1980 to 1983, now that the country has regained its political and economic stability, even though people take up different positions on the next steps and on the timetabling of this process. Finally, an essential part of this consensus is the guarantee of human rights and the necessity of ensuring that they are being respected all over Turkey.

The economy, the labour market and the social structure

As a "country in the process of development" and at the threshold of becoming an industrial and service society, Turkey is striving to attain ambitious aims. Prime Minister Ozal speaks of Turkey becoming a "fully industrialized state" by the year 2000, with high

economic growth and full integration into the European Community, to which it is only associated as yet but to which it applied formally for full membership in 1987.

At present, and for the foreseeable future, Turkey must pass through a difficult phase of restructuring. The World Bank ranks the country among the "half industrialized developing countries with average income". Per capita income amounting to 1 071$ (1986) is the lowest among OECD countries. With rates of economic growth being comparatively high for the last 6 years and the unemployment rate increasing, a process of economic and social change is taking place that demands a high degree of political stability and social consensus as well as the ability of individuals, of families, of entrepreneurs and of employees, to adapt actively to radically changing conditions in life and work. As is typical of a country undergoing rapid development, different stages of transformation are to be found in parallel; the regions are affected in diverse ways; structural change leads to social advancement and material progress, but also to the loss of traditional roots and support mechanisms.

In 1982, the urban population (52.5 per cent) already exceeded that living in rural areas. In spite of increasing urbanization, however, social life and the division of roles within families are still strongly influenced by traditional values and attitudes and by the rules of orthodox Islam. But there is a significant trend away from the large to the smaller family, which, combined with increasing employment of women outside their homes and the growing influence of television and other mass media, puts traditional role perceptions into question and gradually changes life styles and habits. This development, particularly as it affects the status and consciousness of girls and young women, also means new opportunities as well as uncertainties and conflicts that have to be mastered by individuals and families.

Nationwide, today's employment and social structure are still largely determined by agriculture. In 1985, 59.1 per cent of the workforce belonged to the agricultural sector while 12.7 per cent were employed in industry and 28.2 per cent in the service sector, including construction. The structural shifts as forecast by medium-term planning will change this picture only gradually. For the year 1989, 54.7 per cent are estimated to be employed in agriculture, the share of industrial jobs rising to 13.9 per cent and that of jobs in the service sector to 31.4 per cent. The actual development, however, indicates that structural change is occurring faster than expected.

The great importance of the agricultural sector for employment is not equalled by its contribution to national production: its share in the gross domestic product is decreasing in relationship to that of industry and the service sector, forming only 17.7 per cent in 1984 (industry: 31.9 per cent, service and construction: 50.4 per cent). One reason behind this is low productivity in Turkish agriculture, compounded by hidden unemployment. The share of family workers, which overall in Turkey amounts to nearly 40 per cent, is particularly high in agriculture. Most of them do unpaid work in small-sized farming.

Earnings becoming insufficient for the families of many small farmers, harsh living conditions in large areas of central and east Anatolia, growing mechanization of agricultural mass production and a considerable bias of development between the West and the East – these are the main factors behind the continuing migration from the country, mainly of young villagers. Migrants move, first, to regional centres and then on to the large industrial areas around Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir and to the industrial towns on the Black Sea and in the South-East, near the border with Syria. This population shift leads to new economic, social and educational problems for Turkey. Many experts, today, consider the schooling situation in the large industrialized centres and their *gecekondus* (squatter settlements growing overnight at the margins of the big cities) as being more critical than that in the countryside where the aim of "each village its school" has been realized for the most part.

For many newcomers to the towns, the hope of finding stable employment is not being fulfilled. Without the close solidarity characteristic of the Turkish family even today and without the maintenance of traditional forms of social life in the new surroundings, this migration process would be bringing about more social frictions and confronting government with nearly insoluble problems.

Modern nomadism does not stop at the national borders. The total figure of Turks living abroad is estimated at 2.28 millions for 1985. Out of the total of 1.07 million migrant workers, the overwhelming majority is employed in Western Europe, 586 000 of them in the Federal Republic of Germany; 200 000 Turks are working in Arabic countries.

Without employment opportunities abroad labour market problems in Turkey would be even worse and the country's balance of payment even more critical. But unemployment remains the outstanding economic challenge to Turkey, together with a high inflation rate in spite of a very energetic austerity policy.

At present, about 1 million Turks are officially registered as unemployed. But the total of people demanding work, including hidden unemployment in the field of agriculture, is estimated at 3.1 millions for 1985 which would mean an unemployment rate of 16.5 per cent of the workforce. Joblessness has been rising for years, as the annual increase of employment opportunities of about 1 per cent is too low in order to compensate at least for the 3 per cent increase of the labour force.

Young people are particularly hit by unemployment: 52.6 per cent of those out of work are under 25 years old (22.6 per cent under 19). One factor contributing to this situation is that educational participation after primary schooling is still relatively low. Only about 55 per cent of the age group go on to middle schools (lower secondary education) and around 30 per cent afterwards take part in formal education at the upper secondary level, the participation of girls being considerably lower than that of boys.

Labour force participation of the population between 15 and 65 has declined significantly since the middle of the seventies (from 74.3 per cent in 1955 to 64.5 per cent in 1984), in particular that of women, their participation rate now being less than half of that of men (40.7 versus 86.5 per cent). When hidden unemployment has been taken into account these figures show Turkey's considerable employment potential, with 450 000 people being added annually to the already large number of those looking for jobs.

At the same time there is a high demand for skilled manpower which cannot be met so far. This is compounded by a regional mismatch between manpower supply and demand, so that the State Planning Ministry advocates intensified training efforts, primarily at the level of skilled workers, masters and technicians, as well as a higher degree of regional mobility, which implies a greater readiness of qualified people to work and live in the still underdeveloped eastern regions of the country.

Since 1980 Turkey has attempted to overcome her employment and growth problems and her foreign trade deficit by a new economic policy. The economy, so far shielded by protectionist measures, has been gradually opened to international competition, exports being expressly promoted and imports liberalized. Internally, too, the government has decided to rely increasingly on market forces by encouraging entrepreneurship, promotion of private investment, particularly of small and medium-sized enterprises, a limitation on subsidies to the traditionally large, but rather unproductive, sector of state enterprises and the deregulation of markets. Inflation has been tackled by an austerity policy that has led to decreasing real incomes but, on the other hand, improved the international competitiveness of Turkey. This policy of economic modernization, privatization, financial stabilization and opening to foreign markets is supported by the creditor countries, the IMF and the World

Bank, which grants credits for structural adaptation as well as for the financing of projects, among them projects to enhance the vocational qualifications of the Turkish labour force.

The results of this new economic policy that entails great sacrifices by the Turkish people are encouraging. After a deep recession in the seventies, economic growth has recovered and stabilized at annual rates between 4 and 5 per cent. Exports have been considerably raised, particularly those to the Middle East and North Africa; industrial products are now far in excess of agricultural goods (72.1 versus 24.5 per cent in 1984). Turkey's tourist trade, an economic branch of great potential for the future, is being systematically developed. As to the fight against inflation, however, after initial successes there has been a setback and the employment situation is expected to deteriorate further in the years to come, mainly because of the demographic factor.

The importance of education and training

Within its strategy for economic adjustment and national development the Turkish government lays great emphasis on improving and expanding education and training. Their key role for the country's future progress is formulated in the current five-year plan that projects the course to be pursued by the country from 1985 to 1989: "Our human resources are our most valuable national asset and the most important driving factor of development. It is essential that this potential be exploited to the maximum extent through education, and utilised for development."

Here, too, a look backwards is necessary in order to understand where Turkey stands today, what it can build on and what is still to be achieved. Innovations in the field of education had been among the most important reforms of the twenties after the foundation of the Republic. The aim to secularize Turkey and to modernize the social and economic structure of the country could only be pursued on condition that the educational level of the population should be raised significantly. Ataturk is quoted as having said: "Our most important duty is to win a victory in the field of education."

Under the Ottoman regime only 10 per cent of the people were able to read and write. A school system for the majority of the population had not really existed. The elite schools for training military personnel, administrators and other high-level manpower needed to serve the Empire were open only to people from those social strata which could afford private basic education. The education of the population in towns, and even more so in the wide rural areas, was on the whole limited to religious instruction by the local Imams. With a political and religious system essentially hostile to social change, the broad dissemination of knowledge and science was inconceivable.

Only from the establishment of the Republic onwards has there been anything like a systematic education policy addressed to the needs of the people. The religious schools were closed down and a public system of primary and middle schools built up with a new teaching force instructing according to lay guidelines. In 1924 primary schooling was made compulsory. Schools of further education were gradually developed as well as a university system in order to train, above all, those technicians and engineers the country desperately required.

The most radical of these reforms, however, was the abolition of the arabic script and its replacement by Latin letters in 1928. This was a precondition for enabling every Turk to master his or her own language as the arabic alphabet and script do not harmonize with the peculiarities of the Turkish language and had made it extremely difficult for people to learn reading and writing. For that purpose an alphabet adapted to the conditions of the Turkish

language was developed and Ataturk himself promoted the ensuing literacy campaign, which won for him the title "Headmaster of the School of the Nation".

During subsequent decades Turkey proved successful in raising the literacy rate, which in 1985 was officially estimated at having reached 85 per cent. Illiteracy still remains higher in the rural areas of the East than in the urban areas, and higher among women than among men. Thanks to the considerable efforts to bring education into the villages, through primary as well as through adult education, these differences, however, have been reduced significantly. Another major achievement in building up a modern education system in Turkey has been the development of a network of universities started only in 1933. Since then twenty six universities have been founded throughout the country beyond the centres of Istanbul and Ankara.

Nevertheless, despite the great progress made within a relatively short space of time it has to be stated that educational development in Turkey has still a long way to go in order to meet the rising learning needs of the people as well as the qualified manpower needs of the economy. Thus, in 1980 only 14.6 per cent of the population had completed at least middle school, 19.3 per cent of the men and 9.7 per cent of the women (latest available figures).

The Turkish government is fully aware of the tremendous challenges to be faced and that substantial resources must be invested in the years to come. When talking to politicians and administrators in the Ankara Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, to Governors and Education Directors in the Provinces and to the highly-committed women and men responsible in schools and training centres, the examiners were presented by long enumerations of political priorities and desiderata in order to improve educational practice.

Individual needs and national requirements must both be urgently met so as to offer a full basic education to all young Turks and open access to further education and training for all. In this context, educational opportunities for youth in disadvantaged rural and urban areas, and for girls and young women continue to demand prime political attention. Demographic pressures will remain exigent in the years to come. Thus, contrary to most other OECD countries, the Turkish education system is still in the midst of a process of quantitative expansion. To maintain the quality of schooling and to increase educational success are issues high on the political agenda in response to the deep concerns of parents and the public about prevailing unsatisfactory school standards and high failure rates.

The most striking departure in Turkey's present policy, however, is to consider education in a less isolated way and to orient it more deliberately towards the social and economic needs of the country and to individual life perspectives. Making the school curricula more relevant to the reality of life, giving greater importance to vocational education and training and increasing the use of practical learning settings outside schools are elements of this new strategy. A legislative decision of 1986 to improve and extend the training of skilled manpower is the main contribution of educational policy to assist the government's economic reform programme.

In the following chapters we concentrate on what we, largely in line with our interlocutors, regard as the outstanding features and primary issues of Turkish education policy. Our analysis does not include the higher education sector, the Turkish university system not being under the supervision of the Minister of National Education, Youth and Sports but of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), which is directly answerable to the President of the Republic. We had talks, however, with the YÖK and we take into account the relationships between the school and the higher education sector in our discussions of upper secondary education and teacher training at tertiary level.

The financial constraints that Turkey will have to face for many years to come render it extremely difficult to make those investments in the educational infrastructure which are generally acknowledged to be necessary. In view of the key role that is attributed to education and training it is striking that their share of expenditure in the public budget has declined from 13.7 per cent in 1970 to 11.1 per cent in 1980 and 8.8 per cent in 1986, which is, for example, less than half of the amount spent on defence, a heavy burden on the Turkish budget.

Turkey has recently been taking decisions about educational policy options that are of crucial relevance to the country's future, not only in order to achieve its ambitious economic and political goals but also to secure social peace during a period of radical changes. It was fascinating for us to see how determinedly the country is launched on the way to solving its economic and social problems, to developing its infrastructures and to joining the modern industrialized nations. But we also became aware of the twofold dilemma which Turkey is facing: not simply to imitate the modernization process of other nations and to repeat their errors but to seek out Turkey's own way; to fix the right priorities in view of the awesome challenges to be faced and the limited resources available. Both apply particularly to education policy-makers.

The weighty list of priorities with which we were confronted presents hard political choices. Their implementation calls for a high degree of political will and for continuity as well as administrative efficiency. The budgetary resources available for the improvement and further expansion of the Turkish education system should reflect, as far as possible, the key role which the government attributes to education in the country's development strategy. We would like to encourage the Turks to see the promotion of education and training as a joint task of the public and the private sectors, including the social partners, the enterprises and private initiatives in local communities. The outside world should continue to assist Turkey in its endeavours.

II

BASIC EDUCATION FOR ALL

The background

According to the Constitution governing the Republic no one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education (article 42). Furthermore, primary education is compulsory and free in State schools. Except in specially licensed institutions Turkish must be taught as the mother tongue and religious instruction is a compulsory subject in the primary and secondary school curriculum (article 24).

The Education Bill details the constitutional principles underpinning a basic education system which rests on the following stated assumptions:

a) Universality and equality
b) Fulfilment of individual and social needs
c) Freedom of choice
d) Right to education
e) Equality of opportunity
f) Education for all throughout life
g) Adherence to Ataturk's reform principles, including secularism
h) Building of democracy
i) Scientific approach
j) Co-education
k) School-parent cooperation.

Basic education covers a period of 8 years, normally divided into two cycles: 5 years elementary and 3 years lower secondary. These cycles can be taught in separate institutions – elementary schools on the one hand, and middle (3 years) or secondary (6 or 7 years) schools, on the other – or can be merged into one integrated school catering for the full range of grades 1-8. The statutory age of entry into basic education is 6 although in rural areas most children enrol at the age of 7. The provision of a universal 8-year basic education for all is officially regarded as a goal to be attained by stages. The first priority is to achieve a 100 per cent participation rate in elementary education (98 per cent in 1986) and thereafter proceed gradually with the expansion of grades 6-8 with a view to arriving at universal attendance by

the year 2005 (54 per cent in 1986). Concomitantly, pre-school education should expand from a low 3 per cent coverage in 1983 to a targeted 10 per cent in 1989 for the 5-6 age groups.

For the 1985/86 school year (1 October-31 May) Table 1 shows the official numbers of schools, teachers and pupils.

Table 1. **Number of schools, teachers and pupils in school year 1985/86**

Institution	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Net participation rate %
Pre-school education (ages 5 and 6)				
Kindergarten	16	138	1 720	
Nursery class	3 071	4 547	85 153	3.6
Compulsory school				
Primary school (ages 6 or 7-11)	48 254	213 000	6 373 697	
All-through schools*	590	14 715	407 569	
Separate lower secondary (middle schools)	2 851	33 581	779 169	
Total primary schools	48 804	212 717	6 635 858	98
Total lower secondary (middle) schools	5 107	63 411	1 853 118	54

* Includes 95 regional boarding schools with 49 556 pupils and 1 883 teachers.
Source: OECD, Educational Data Bank.

The long-term policy is to expand the provision of pre-school education so as to meet fully the demand for it. At present, the provision remains small, though it is increasing rapidly in some urban areas, often through private arrangements. The demand for day-care facilities has risen enormously because of the migration of so many rural families to the towns and the frequent necessity of mothers taking up employment. Sooner or later, the authorities will have to take strict measures to regulate the conduct of make-shift day-care centres and to introduce an element of intentional pre-schooling. Meanwhile, as we were informed, some interesting pre-school experiments are taking place in the poor sectors of large cities.

The total enrolment in elementary education amounts to approximately 6.6 million, of which 5.9 fall within the normal age bracket (6 or 7 to 11). The pace of expansion during the last 15 years has represented a considerable effort to cope with an ever-increasing demand due to persistently high population growth rates[1] compounded by a deliberate policy of trimming down the proportion of out-of-school children.

Table 2. **Enrolments in elementary education, 1970-1986**

	Enrolments (millions)	% average annual increase	% female
1970	5.0	1.43	42
1978	5.6	2.07	45
1986	6.6		

Source: OECD, Educational Data Bank.

The strategy applied in order to increase the provision of basic education for a larger group of the population in a context of shrinking financial resources has been implemented at the expense of an overall drop in the level of school inputs. Yet, pupil/teacher ratios at elementary and middle education that average 30:1 and 23:1, respectively, reflect a somewhat low utilisation rate of teachers. Although statistical averages hide major variations in actual situations, those ratios are partly "compensated" by low salary levels. The policy of "each village one school" that guides the location of elementary schools explains much of the difficulty in achieving higher efficiency of teacher management in view of the need to cater for sparsely-populated rural areas against the background of a mainstream migratory movement to cities and a sustained teacher shortage in the eastern regions.

Educational materials are usually purchased by parents since the Ministry of Education's budget for consumable school inputs barely reaches US$ 2 per child in elementary and middle schools. Parents' associations provide assistance to poor families who cannot afford the average TL30 000/year (US$ 43) of estimated expenditure per child, including purchase of school uniform.

The demand for school places in urban centres exceeds the supply. In larger cities – Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa – schools operate a double shift system. Although the statutory pupil:teacher ratio is 1:40, in practice it may be 1:60, 1:80 or more. That degree of overcrowding is liable to defeat the skills and motivation of even the best prepared teacher : the overcrowding of urban schools is one reason for the growth of private education. In one school we visited in Istanbul the pupil:teacher ratio was 1:59 ; in a neighbouring private school it was 1:36.

The situation facing the 50 000 or so villages is the converse: schools are being closed down for lack of pupils (in Eskisehir Province alone the examiners noted that 20 schools had been discontinued in 1985). Two thousand villages are at present without schools altogether. For an increasing number of depopulated villages the solution lies in resorting to multi-grade teaching, even if that entails underutilising physical facilities. Official data show that around 25 per cent of the primary education teaching force is now dealing with multigrade classes (Table 3). For those children living too far from a school for daily travel, 95 boarding primary schools are maintained mainly in the Eastern regions.

Table 3. **Teaching in primary classes**

Type of teaching	Number of teachers (thousands)
Graded	162
Two grades	22
Three grades	12
Four grades	3
Five grades	14
Total	213

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara

The examiners noted that multigrade teaching is often regarded as a *pis aller* only to be tolerated in the absence of an alternative solution. As a rule, even at the senior official level, the issue is oversimplified. No clear policy exists to deal with a serious and sizable educational

problem, which is exaggerated by the tendency for the drop-out rate to be higher in rural schools owing to the demands of a labour-intensive farming economy.

At this point, owing to the complexity of the problem, it is worth recollecting a few impressionistic flashes from a surprise visit to a small village school in Balcik, Nevsehir. A strongly motivated male teacher faced a class of 37 children spread over five grades. Having had no specific training in coping with multigrade classes nor having received previous guidance in tackling such a challenging mix of learning abilities, the teacher had put his ingenuity to work by alternating oral instruction and individual or team work with grades 1-2 and grades 3-5 groupings. He was forced to seek the best allocation possible of a 25-hour weekly contact load – the same as for normal classes – thinly spread through five groups of pupils while leaving time to cater for the remedial needs of slow learners. His reward? Little professional help: no extra pay; relative isolation; little recognition. After all, the understanding is that the multigrade system will eventually be phased out as an inadequate solution.

The basic education curriculum is far from consolidated; parts of it remain under experimentation and parts are being revised. Dissatisfaction is a sentiment commonly shared among administrators, inspectors, headmasters and teachers. Moreover, the gradual expansion of grades 6-8 makes obsolescent a curriculum design which traditionaly regarded that segment as lower secondary – therefore preparatory to further academic studies – rather than upper basic or a terminal cycle for an increasingly higher proportion of pupils.

In elementary education the mother tongue is awarded the heaviest preference – 10 and 6 out of 25 weekly periods for grades 1-3 and 4-5, respectively – followed at a distance by Mathematics, 5 and 4 periods, respectively. In grades 6-8, varying with the type of institution and the experiments under way, the weekly load ranges from 34 to 38 periods in order to be able to touch on all the various traditional subjects. The teaching of a foreign language is allotted 3 periods and work-oriented activities 4-8 periods to help make up a heavily loaded curriculum of 14-16 subjects.

The curriculum, subject-matter load, syllabi, textbooks and teachers' guides are subject to national regulations prescribed in minute detail from Ankara. The inspectorate ascertains that set norms are followed by each individual school or teacher, so that the system progresses in the same mode and at the same rate in every corner of the country. In each school it is the headmaster's prime duty to supervise the teachers' work by giving his or her daily approval to concrete teaching plans submitted in detail before classes begin.

National examinations remain a fundamental control instrument at key check-points for nominating successful candidates to the next level of education: grade 5 graduates to middle schools; entrants to Anadolu secondary schools; entrants to vocational *lycées*; university placement; sieving candidates for boarding schools. At these selected points the rules of the game are *strong competition* and *emulation*: schools are ranked, on a nation-wide scale, according to their students' performance in examinations. Under these circumstances the indicators of inefficiency for basic education are not surprisingly high: about 10 per cent repeaters in elementary education and 20 per cent in middle schools. In the 8 grades comprised under basic education the system discloses an annual wastage of around 1.1 million repeaters together with drop-outs. Yet the national illiteracy rate has dropped from a high 90 per cent at the beginning of the century to an estimated 15 per cent in 1985, which is thanks to outstanding success in school retention and virtually universal completion of elementary education.

To complete this brief introduction to basic schooling, a few words are required on Turkey's policies for assisting physically and mentally handicapped children. Within the Ministry of Education there is a special unit concerned with this problem, comprised of a

committed staff, well-versed in the needs and difficulties of the handicapped. They recognize the desirability of integrating the handicapped into the regular schools to the greatest extent possible. In practice, this is difficult because of the lack of suitably designed school buildings and appropriate medical services and because of a certain resistance from teachers against integration.

There are encouraging features in the present provision. A National Committee on Handicapped Persons strongly advocates required innovations. Two universities offer certificate programmes designed to equip teachers with special knowledge and skills to deal with handicapped children. There is a number of special schools for the blind and the deaf. In Eskeshehir we visited a school, which is admittedly exceptional, where the purpose-designed rooms and equipment are of the very highest quality. Some regular schools contain separate classes for the handicapped. There is a guidance and research centre in each province. Altogether there are now some 2 140 trained specialists throughout the country.

Given the overall lack of resources in the education system it is not easy to bring about dramatic improvements. We would simply recommend that when funds permit there is a case for establishing more residential schools, for producing more technical equipment and materials, and for instituting integration programmes in selected regular schools. It would also be helpful to draw greater attention to the needs and problems of the handicapped in all initial teacher training courses. Finally, an effort should be made to sensitise practising teachers to the handicapped phenomenon. This is not simply a question of their becoming more amenable to the notion of integration but of developing the ability to identify pupils whose progress in school is being impaired by a so-far undiscovered handicap.

Strong features of the system

A foreign examiner who plunges into the Turkish basic educational system for the first time cannot help being struck by a number of distinctive features which make up a characteristic pattern, a pattern steadily replicated in the forty or so schools and educational institutions visited. Among the strong characteristics, the examiners noted the following:

a) Staff professionalism
b) School management and local leadership
c) Student motivation
d) Parental and community involvement
e) High standard of school facilities.

A constant feature that emerges when scrutinizing elementary and middle schools, whether small or large, in urban agglomerations or small villages, is the staff professionalism and dedication. Teachers are impeccably attired, the records on staff absenteeism show impressively low absentee rates, classroom activities are planned and scrupulously implemented to the last detail, individual files on pupils can be promptly found. Teachers are eager, in spite of limited career incentives, to undergo upgrading courses even if this entails using up holiday time or drawing on personal contributions in the form of financial overheads such as travel, purchasing educational materials and fees. The teaching load in middle schools currently attains 30 weekly periods with a minimal monetary incentive: TL175 or US$ 0.25 for each extra teaching hour over and above 18 hours for which a basic salary of around TL70 000 (October 1986) is earned (US$ 100). 120 000 elementary teachers[2] have enrolled in Open University classes in order to seek professional advancement and improved career prospects. In general, the examiners were impressed by the high level of staff motivation and responsibility, which appear to be points of honour in most of the institutions observed.

The features described strongly correlate with the school government model in Turkey. School headmasters are highly respected professionals usually appointed from among the most experienced teachers. The typical promotion path from teacher to managerial duties is gradual and normally involves some years of service as assistant director, for a salary differential touching TL15 000 to 20 000. The development of management skills is somewhat empirical as the system does not provide specific management training programmes. Headmasters and deputies are required to undertake a minimal teaching load – full load for schools below 200 students or on average 6 hours for schools above 200 students – to keep them in close daily contact with classroom realities. As a rule, the examiners found the school management teams to be in full control of the pedagogic, administrative and financial questions related to school administration and well entrenched into the local community environment. Good captains, showing positive leadership, in charge of well-found ships, would offer the best image for most schools visited. An unusual level of concern about the individual performance and welfare of students is a natural outcome. Schools strike the visitor as essentially orderly institutions and, more importantly, as centres of learning where each actor knows his or her part perfectly and takes a cue at the right moment. On occasions, the examiners wondered whether all concerned might not be too satisfied with the *status quo* to be open to changing circumstances.

The overall description of tidiness and correctness applies to the pupils and students, whose behaviour heavily determines the profile of the school system. The principals' testimony is categoric: disciplinary measures are rarely needed, troublemaking and bullying scarcely ever occur; more seldom yet are cases of students challenging teachers. In fact, even taking for granted that such information exaggerates the image of an orderly school, so keenly cherished and valued in the Turkish context, the examiners repeatedly witnessed a climate of institutional esteem and genuine dignity in the day-to-day life of schools. In general, pupils were dressed neatly in their uniforms, be it in urban or rural environments; prefects were only too happy to welcome visitors and to be of service; notebooks, textbooks and personal belongings were generally tidily presented; behaviour in classroom, workshop or playground situations was overtly correct and committed to the preservation of a sound learning community; classes reciting Ataturk's principles or singing the national anthem suggested pride and commitment to Turkish modernisation.

The features enumerated impressed the examiners. In some schools, the degree of maturity and self-discipline shown reached such an extreme that the examiners could not help wondering if individual restraint had not been developed to the detriment of the spontaneity and vitality so typical of youthful behaviour. Certainly socialisation takes place in the Turkish school, as elsewhere in the family or community, but it may well be worth reassessing the covert degree of adulthood implicit in the values and norms governing the interactive process between peers or students and educators, imposed by the cult of discipline and order.

One additional facet in the positive evaluation of Turkey's basic education provision relates to the generally high consciousness attached to the educative role of families and communities. Teachers liaise closely with parents in resolving classroom difficulties. Families as a rule contribute generously to building, remodelling, expanding and equipping school facilities. Poorer students benefit from solidarity funds and headmasters are proud of their local fund-raising performance. Community contributions and private donations to President Evren's campaign "Build your own school" are impressively generous. In this framework, further devolution of responsibilities to provinces and local authorities with respect to school construction, equipment and maintenance would seem highly advantageous so as to encourage further local participation in cost-sharing. In 1986, private contributions were

estimated at TL50 billion or about one half of the total investment effort in the sector; conservative estimates for 1987 would raise that figure to TL80-90 billion!

Turkey exhibits a rich heritage in school construction. Buildings are solid, with ample courtyards, comfortable classrooms and large circulation areas. It is not surprising that schools can last fifty or more years in perfectly operational condition, especially when, as is often the case, physical conservation is accorded priority among current school management responsibilities. Workshop equipment – woodwork, metal work, electrical work, automechanics and so on – is usually appropriate and carefully maintained, though often in short supply. Administrative wings are spacious and furnished with taste. School design standards are generally high and entail correspondingly high unit investment costs. Over-design can also cause unnecessary delays in school construction, mainly when negotiating with local contractors from the centre. We shall return to some of these issues in Chapter V when discussing management bottlenecks in the education system.

Weak features of the system

From the description offered so far the reader might be led to believe that the Turkish basic education system operates free of problems. That is certainly not the case. A number of outstanding weak points emerged during the review which merit careful consideration and corrective action by the authorities concerned. The examiners particularly noted:

a) Falling quality standards
b) Over-centralisation
c) Diminishing public outlays
d) Shortcomings in teacher training, recuitment, career paths and posting
e) Regional disparities.

The rapid growth in enrolments, coupled with increasing funding problems, has brought about signs of declining quality in school provision. National examination results fall short of the achievement targets set by the curriculum; the foreign language ability of basic education graduates remains far from satisfactory; the curriculum fails to focus on core subjects and basic skills development. The demographic pressure on urban schools leads to overcrowding and to educational handicaps well known in many OECD countries: double or triple shifts; wide pupil-teacher ratios; thinly spread school resources.

In rural areas, as we have seen, multigrade classes operate in the absence of a comprehensive educational policy which, rather than resenting their existence, should take advantage of their potential and foster a better delivery system through deliberate measures to improve such learning environments and provide the necessary professional support services. World-wide research has shown that multigrade teaching can be at least as effective as graded teaching and is not always the worst strategy to adopt. Given the right environment – appropriate pupils/staff ratio, appropriate teacher training, frequent supervision, cross-fertilization to break isolation – multigrade classes can generate further learning stimuli and favour team-work together with natural tutorship between peers up to a level difficult to attain in regular classrooms. The issue merits in-depth research and specific policy design; implementation of a different approach would also require the sensitization and retraining at all levels of educational management to overcome long-standing prejudice against other-than-standard classroom practices.

The curriculum load and structure are other significant quality factors. A leaner curriculum combined with a better focus on the essentials of basic learning is worth consideration, especially if a compensatory policy were to be implemented by the lengthening

of the school year. An average school year could stretch from 15 September to 15 June, for instance, and allow for local calendar flexibility to accommodate seasonal agricultural activities, winter sporting periods or climatic differences. Improving curriculum links between educational cycles also deserves further attention. A better provision of educational materials should be sought to overcome uneven distribution and improve design. In particular, licensing the private sector to play a more active role in textbook development, production and marketing could increase variety and help improve quality, provided that costs are kept within realistic bounds.

The rule in educational management has been for a long time that "Ankara knows best". School principals regard themselves primarily as executors of regulations and norms issued from above. Provincial directors of education are intermediate links in the chain of command with limited innovative powers. The entire system operates with clockwork precision and uniformity. This hierarchical model applies to a large country with regions at diverse stages of development and with a heterogeneous population. Increasing regional or local participation through further devolution of functions could enhance flexibility of local responses in basic education and the emergence of creative solutions. Moreover, increased efficiency could be expected in certain key areas like school building and maintenance. In some provinces, local contracting or building through force-account was cheaper by a factor of one half; in other instances, delays were cut by one-third with concurrent educational advantages and economic savings because of the inflationary spiral. The envisaged curricular reform offers an excellent opportunity to welcome local contributions, especially for strengthening life-oriented subjects or activities in the latter part of basic education vis-à-vis the increasing number of school-leavers to be expected after grade 8 as it undergoes compulsory generalisation.

Bottlenecks in financing occur frequently in basic education. This report will reflect below on the worrisome trend that is bringing down the proportion of the national budget allocated to education. Basic education is exposed at the ground level of the educational pyramid to societal pressure for more places as a consequence of population trends and growing aspirations. Opening up educational opportunities to all has constituted the main *leitmotiv* in ranking sector priorities for basic education. With constant or falling public outlays on education in real terms, unit costs have fallen to alarming levels. Vigorous political action is called for in order to reverse the trend.

The competences and conditions of service for teachers are also a major predictor of the sector's health. (Chapter IV will deal comprehensively with this matter.) In basic education, teachers are still the single most important resource for improving quality, school effectiveness, and generating a classroom environment which can turn formal education into a creative and exciting adventure.

Hard evidence on regional disparities affecting access to basic education or the quality of services rendered is not abundant. However, a significant cluster of empirical information shows decisive regional imbalances, especially when the wealthier Western areas are contrasted with the underprivileged East. In the latter, the teacher shortage amounts to 40 000; in the former there is a registered surplus of 60 000 teachers. Teacher qualifications follow an identical pattern: better trained, experienced, staff is synonymous with potential migration to the richer coastal areas of the West and Northwest. Rural, multi-grade, isolated teachers and schools are located in the Eastern regions. It is in these areas that the vast majority of boarding primary schools operate, pulling together elementary school-age children from deprived and sparsely populated areas. One could strongly dispute the soundness of such a policy on both educational and emotional and affective grounds and suggest the assessment of less costly alternatives, for example, bussing with nuclearization.

Key strategy options

The major challenge to be confronted in the medium-term is how to combine measures to increase access to grades 6-8 while ensuring better provision for the broadening cohort sizes and generally improving the performance of the basic education system as a whole. The Fifth National Development Plan (1985-1989) emphasizes the need to supply an increasing number of school places (Table 4).

Table 4. **Place requirements in basic education**

School places in millions

	Elementary school	Middle school	Total
1985/86	5.9	1.9	7.8
1988/89	6.0	2.6	8.6

Note: These figures are net enrolments (school age 6-14). If over-age students are included, the gross basic education enrolments in grades 1-8 would shoot up to about 9.6 million in 1988/89.
Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

Given the declining rates of public educational expenditure, the Plan's target appears far-fetched, even allowing for the sizable financial contributions raised at local level and the probable savings associated with quality improvements and higher efficiency (lower repetition rates, fewer drop-outs, better management of pupils/teacher ratios). On the other hand, reforms to enhance quality starting from a deteriorated baseline will necessitate the mobilization of additional resources to:

i) Improve the provision of textbooks and other indispensable educational materials;
ii) Upgrade teachers salaries and conditions of service;
iii) Provide large-scale in-service teacher training to support implementation of the revised curriculum and the strengthening of fundamental teaching skills (numeracy and literacy methodologies, remedial work, multi-grade teaching, local materials development, foreign language teaching, life-oriented skills);
iv) Encourage greater local diversity in addressing local inefficiencies and increase educational effectiveness (local curriculum development, experimental work with deprived, multi-cultural or minority groups, premiums in hardship teaching contexts, development of simple learning kits).

In conclusion, what appears to be an attractive and unassailable policy objective – achieving universal *access with quality* – could easily degenerate into an unresolved supply and demand equation if the allocation of sector resources is not accorded unequivocal political priority.

The management of school places will definitely call for greater ingenuity in rationalizing the supply at a higher level of efficiency. Different strategies will be required in addressing urban and rural areas. In the former, the priority will be to reduce overcrowding in schools, to avoid triple shifts and to forge still closer cooperation between school and community resources. Urban squatters and slum areas peripheral to large cities may require *ad hoc* emergency programmes. In rural areas, an entirely different approach is deemed necessary.

On the basis of an accurate school-mapping exercise and population forecasts a nuclearization strategy should be considered along with a concurrent review of school-location policies. Central schools installed in main village centres could offer the full range of 8 grades, plus additional management facilities and pedagogical support to a network of intermediate or satellite schools (materials for curriculum development, teacher upgrading, school supervision, specialist assistance). Intermediate schools would normally operate 5 grades in normal classes or mildly multi-grade groupings (1-2, 1-2-3 and/or 4-5). Satellite schools would typically consist of one or at maximum two classroom schools operating in very sparsely populated areas and working on a totally multigrade basis (1 to 5 or 1-2-3 and 4-5).

The best school mix would depend on the appropriate educational design for each school district and would require careful planning of school location combined with transportation services – *dolmus* (a small licenced bus), public transportation or school bussing – and the gradually expanded use of modern technologies. This could turn out to be the most cost-effective way of extending basic education to the 2 000 villages that remain without education provision and of reorganising the school network services. It is equally important to implement gradually the age 6 entry requirement for all areas, thus removing a factor of duality that remains in the Turkish education system.

More recent labour statistics and short-term manpower forecasts show that a large majority of working Turks are still bound to the primary sector. Table 5 clearly makes the case: roughly 60 per cent employed in agriculture generate less than 18 per cent of the economic output.

Table 5. **Labour force distribution**

Economic sector	1985	Forecast (1989)	Share GDP (1985)
Agriculture	59.1	54.7	17.7
Industry	12.7	13.9	31.9
Services	28.2	31.4	50.4

Source: Ministry of Employment, Ankara.

The universal provision of eight grades of basic education means retaining in grades 6+ about one half of grade 5 graduates who, under the present conditions, do not pursue further studies. It is evident that the larger proportion of the "new" enrolments will come from rural areas and agricultural families; moreover, this group consists of potentially "delayed school drop-outs", in the sense that a significant proportion will not seek further schooling after grade 8, preferring to enter the local labour market. If these assumptions are valid some major implications should be derived for the master design of upper basic education 6-8).

The curriculum would have to undergo a thorough revision, moving away from a traditional junior secondary education approach in order to come closer to an integrated basic education philosophy. By the same token, pre-service training of the teaching force would have to be drastically reformed in order to overcome the present model whereby middle school teachers as a rule follow the same training programme as general secondary teachers. Among other implications the entire concept of environmental studies, life-oriented or practical subjects and career education would change. A much stronger component of rural education, focused on simple notions about technical innovation, extension services and management,

should be emphasized as a first step towards a comprehensive productivity-enhancing policy permeating a new generation of farmers. These modifications would probably require the judicious utilisation of specialised staff and demonstration facilities in assisting basic education schools, as well as a versatile school calendar capable of accommodating agricultural cycles and crop rotations. Concurrently, detailed planning should link vocational training opportunities with basic education drop-outs; likewise, career education activities in middle schools must bear in mind the technical-vocational and apprenticeship programmes in the students' catchment area.

The success of the strategy outlined relies heavily on two other key factors: *teachers* and *management capability*. Since teachers will constitute the sole concern of Chapter IV let us refer succinctly to management issues in basic education.

The rigid, centralised, educational management tradition is lagging far behind the pace at which Turkey is modernising. Only greater decentralisation, making provincial directors of education and local or school organisations more responsible for a greater share in executive and educational tasks, can ensure the flexibility needed to cope with socio-cultural and economic change. Whereas the central Ministry should strengthen strategic planning, coordination and control functions, the regional and local structures must develop suitable operational planning skills and resource management capabilities (human, physical, financial and institutional resources). Careful consideration must be given to the greater involvement of municipalities in providing and managing pre-school and basic education; mayors and city councils may well be more efficient than educational bureaucracies in site-planning and acquisition, managing the school building cycle (from specific design development, through procurement, contract awarding and cost control) and providing quick school maintenance services. Furthermore, groupings of municipalities could provide spatial economies of scale in running specific educational services (school transportation, school meals, pedagogical supervision, professional support services, school location policy).

If the management capability is there, educational change need not be implemented on a national scale. Local experimentation and educational innovation could be welcomed and should normally emerge as a response to a wide variety of local contexts; this is particularly crucial when those parts of the curriculum are concerned which make no sense if conceived without close connection with the immediate socio-economic environment. Equally, a strong case can be made for allowing greater budgetary responsibility transfers to provincial and local officers. At a different but complementary level, the market and open competition could improve the quality of educational materials and meet the growing demands for diversity. We shall return to the issue of decentralisation in Chapter V.

Management changes should be implemented at the rate allowed by institutional and staff development programmes. Reducing the size of the central bureaucracy and strengthening planning and management skills at the provincial and local levels should be singled out as a key priority for the next few years. Otherwise, effective reform of basic education may remain a pious expectation and the system will deliver *more of the same* rather than the *better quality education for all* that is urgently required.

Adult basic education

It is proper to consider a major part of adult education provision under the general rubric of basic education because that is very largely what it is concerned with in so far as the national authorities are responsible. Moreover, it is viewed as being an integral part of a lifelong

learning process intended not only to encourage individual development but to foster group and community cooperation and generally contribute to the enrichment of Turkish society and culture.

In Turkey adult education forms a substantial part of what the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports designates as non-formal education (NFE). In effect, NFE covers all the educational provision sponsored by the Ministry that occurs outside formal education, namely, in schools, universities and colleges. Exceptionally, among OECD Member countries and, indeed, among most less developed countries (LDCs), NFE is accorded equal status with formal education. Exceptionally also in a comparative perspective, it includes many types of activity that, although definitely belonging to the field of adult education, are often disregarded or, at least, not formally recognized by the public authorities as being their duty to provide. Thus, the Ministry is able to cite the existence of 652 centres and 20 000 associations and the employment of 28 000 full-time organisers.

Again, ever since Ataturk became President of the Republic, adult education has been treated as a high priority. Above all, the country has been committed to intensive efforts to reduce the rate of illiteracy. Following a particularly spectacular mass campaign it is now claimed that the literacy rate has risen to 85 per cent of the population. Even if that estimate is pitched on the high side it means, in effect, that illiteracy remains prevalent only among the older age groups. We do not know, of course, the precise extent to which the 85 per cent are all functionally as opposed to passively literate. There is still apparently much to be done in helping many adults who have barely acquired reading and writing skills to apply and consolidate them and to reach the equivalent of eight years of compulsory schooling. The necessary and satisfying conclusion, however, is that Turkey has been unusually successful in eliminating what was a serious handicap for a large section of its population.

The two main targets groups of the programmes sponsored by the Ministry are women and young adults, especially those who left school at the end of elementary education. At many adult education centres women are in a considerable majority; for example, 80 per cent of enrolments in Istanbul province. Typically, they will follow courses in such handicraft skills as hand embroidery and rug-making or clerical skills such as typewriting, the object being to enable them to supplement the family income, whether as spouse or daughter and whether on a full-time or part-time basis. Other courses are focused on health care, family management and nutrition. The courses concerned with practical skills are deliberately linked to the sale of products so that the centres can generate a rolling fund and the participants can quickly start to earn money in return for the articles that they make.

Programmes for young adults are designed to help them complete their basic education and acquire an employable skill. They are usually intensive and short-term, lasting 90 hours or so. Most are related to the realities of local labour markets.

As in many other countries, particularly in the LDCs, adult education is also offered by other ministries and public agencies than the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. Thus, the Ministry of Agriculture is a big provider as are the Armed Forces, which, having played a large role in the past in helping overcome illiteracy, now enable many young people to acquire marketable skills on finishing their period of military service.

The examiners also noted that the adult education programmes provided under the aegis of the Ministry are organised at the grass roots. In other words, they are not subject to the same centrally-imposed constraints as the schools.

Publicly-sponsored adult education programmes are evidently serving the needs of large numbers of adults in well-organised and practical ways. Equally evident are the weaknesses and gaps in the provision. Despite the high priority given to it in the constitution and the important place it occupies within the Ministry, the education of adults does not command

comparable resources with the formal sector. There is a shortage of accommodation and that in use is often old and makeshift. There is a conspicuous shortage of adequate workshops, equipment and training materials. There is, as pointed out in Chapter IV, a need for better trained teachers and organisers. There is sometimes a lack of coordination with the formal system and with other adult education providers. Those adults most in need of help through education and training are the most difficult to reach. There appears to be a lack of research and development activities, which the recently created Adult Education Institute may help to put right along with the relevant university departments.

These shortcomings are fully known to the Ministry, as can be seen from consulting the special report on adult education prepared for the present review. Indeed, the examiners would be hard put to improve upon the proposals for action enumerated in that report. What they do suggest is that more organised research and development activities should be undertaken at selected university centres, that better coordination arrangements be developed at the centre as well as at the local community level, and that an effort should be made to establish and use distance learning facilities on an extensive scale.

NOTES

1. The 0-14 age group still represents about 37 per cent of the total population.
2. Circa 56 per cent of the total teaching force servicing in grades 1-5.

III

ALTERNATIVE ROUTES AFTER BASIC EDUCATION

Educational participation and target groups

As stated in the previous chapter, the objective of a basic education going beyond the five years of primary schooling has so far only been realised for about half of young Turks aged between 12 and 14. As to further education at the upper secondary level, approximately 30 per cent of the 15 to 17 year-olds remain in the formal system. At both age levels the educational participation of boys significantly exceeds that of girls and participation rates in the cities are considerably higher than in the rural areas, particularly those in the East.

An analysis of further education opportunities in Turkey must bear in mind that for the foreseeable future many young Turks will still leave the school system at an early stage, either at the end of the primary school or during the middle school, where drop-out rates are high. Government expects that the gradual implementation of an 8-year compulsory schooling for all cannot be completed before the year 2005.

Thus, a policy that aims to construct bridges over which young people can successfully pass into working and adult life has to focus on two target groups: not only the students who have finished middle school and take up further opportunities in general or vocational education, but also those young people who have not completed their basic education or who are multiple repeaters. At present, a large majority of early school-leavers neither find stable employment nor support from the informal education and training system that is developing in Turkey. If the 12 to 15 year-olds find employment at all, it is likely to be seasonal in the agricultural sector, unpaid labour on parental farms and temporary employment as unskilled workers. Many young Turks of this age enter small and medium-sized enterprises as apprentices. Particularly in the handicraft sector there is a long-standing tradition of learning by doing and watching in a master-apprentice (*usta-chirak*) relationship. The quality of many of these apprenticeships is often criticised. So far, only relatively few are based on a written contract, implemented systematically in accordance with training curricula and combined with an element of theoretical learning.

Lacking an adequate foundation of general knowledge as well as basic vocational skills, the bulk of early school-leavers is ill equipped to adapt to future economic and social changes and to the rising requirements of the labour market. In the long run this will be the group most vulnerable to unemployment.

Thus, the quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of further education opportunities at the middle and upper secondary levels are a major challenge to Turkish

education policy. In 1984/85, 41 per cent of 12 to 17 year-olds stayed on in formal schooling. The government plans to increase the participation rate to about 57 per cent by 1989/90. In parallel, opportunities for informal education and training will be extended, primarily in the form of apprenticeships.

Reform of the apprenticeship system

One of the main educational reforms being undertaken in Turkey is the modernisation and extension of the apprenticeship system. A first legal framework for the training of apprentices, journeymen and masters was promulgated in 1977. This has been further developed by the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act (Act No. 3308) in 1986. According to this act, on-the-job training is to be combined with 8 to 10 hours per week of theoretical instruction in public apprenticeship training centres that include both general and vocational education. So far, 59 centres have been distributed over 39 provinces; 19 of these are run independently and 40 use the premises of industrial vocational schools. Alternatively, theoretical training can be provided in training units within enterprises that have been recognised by the Ministry. It is planned to extend the public network systematically to other regions where there is a sufficient structure of small and medium-sized firms that traditionally offer training places for apprentices.

Minimum requirements for access are entry at age thirteen and completion of 5 years' primary schooling. For special trades a higher minimum age can be fixed. But "candidate apprentices" below the age of thirteen may undergo a phase of vocational preparation. The duration of apprenticeship is between 3 and 4 years, depending on the trade. After 3 years of vocational practice craftsmen can acquire a further qualification for mastership, which again is a prerequisite for establishing a firm and qualifying as a recognized training master.

Training under this kind of dual system is so far being provided for 40 industrial-technical and handicraft trades, including fitting, turning, welding, sheet-metal work, electrical maintenance and repair, auto-mechanics electrician, carpentry, bricklaying and carpet-making. For each trade the government issues a directive containing guidelines for practical training in firms, as well as the curriculum for theoretical instruction in training centres. Training in the firm is supervised by the education and labour market authorities.

A ministerial directive will decide which provinces and branches shall gradually be covered by the requirements of the new law. Within this scope firms must no longer employ persons younger than 18 years without concluding an apprenticeship contract that fixes the rights and obligations of the training firm as well as those of the trainee. The apprentice is entitled to a tax-free training allowance of at least 30 per cent of the minimum wage.

Informal apprenticeship, which has been a long tradition in Turkey, is undertaken by many young Turks, their number being estimated at the possibly exaggerated total of 800 000. The intake to the new scheme of more systematic apprenticeship, introduced in 1977 and further elaborated in 1986, at present amounts to only 12 000 - 15 000 trainees. But the Ministry is planning a rapid increase to 100 000, pointing out that such an expansion can be achieved at much lower costs than for full-time vocational schooling, all the more so as some firms provide assistance to the training centres in the form of buildings and part-time instructors.

This new apprenticeship system, together with the introduction of another form of the "dual system" at the upper secondary level, responds to the growing demand of the Turkish economy for skilled manpower as well as the pressure on individuals to enter the labour market with a vocational qualification. Its success will depend not only on the readiness of firms in the

fields of crafts and industry to undertake more demanding apprenticeship training under the new law and on the extension of the network of public training centres, but also on the qualitative standards that will be attained.

A key factor in ensuring satisfactory training standards will be the availability of a well-qualified corps of master instructors in firms and of teachers for technical instruction in the apprenticeship training centres. The lack of qualified training personnel, particularly for in-the-firm training, is the main bottleneck in the implementation process of the apprenticeship reform. It is advisable, therefore, to target the resources of the newly created "Fund for the Development and Extension of Apprenticeship, Vocational and Technical Training" on a systematic effort to train practical instructors as well as on the improvement of initial and further training of teachers of technical theory which should be enriched by more practical experience.

So far, only theoretical instruction is given in training centres and this means that they actually perform like part-time vocational schools. As apprenticeship is mostly offered by small and medium-sized firms that very often lack modern equipment, let alone special training workshops, the Turkish authorities should consider whether the centres should not also take over part of the practical training in order to make the trainees familiar with new technologies that are not yet applied by the firms in which they experience on-the-job training. Such "supra-company training" elements could be integrated into the apprenticeship in block release form.

The present reform of the apprenticeship system that is being supported by a new World Bank project is a courageous political initiative to offer youngsters a future-orientated preparation for working life after primary schooling. It deserves as much support as do the Turkish government's efforts to provide early school-leavers with opportunities through the adult education system to make up their learning deficiencies and to acquire qualifications in general and vocational education. At the same time, however, Turkey should continue to give high priority to gradually extending the minimum duration of compulsory schooling and thus improving the basis on which further education and initial training can be founded. The lack of basic knowledge after only five years of primary school and the low age of most apprentices are limiting factors that make it difficult to reach the qualitative goals to which the Turkish government aspires with the reform of the apprenticeship system. The continuation of general education for apprentices can only partly compensate for these handicaps. A gradual raising of the school-leaving age would lay a better foundation for quality in vocational training. It would also mean that decisions about vocational careers could be postponed to an age where a responsible choice can be made by youngsters as well as by their parents.

In the long run it will be necessary to clarify the relationship between apprenticeship training and the dual system of vocational training being introduced at upper secondary level. We see them as two developments that eventually have to be integrated into one coordinated system of vocational training.

The choices after basic schooling

Those young people who, at the age of 15, have successfully completed middle school in the better-endowed regions face a broad spectrum of different types of further education. Today there are three main models of *Lises* (high schools):

- ***General Lises*** (general high schools): academic schools that lead within three years to the State Lise Diploma, entitling the holder to apply for admission to higher education institutions; after the first year there is a split into two branches (science and literature).

- ***Vocational Lises***: within three years they prepare for working life in particular fields as well as for the higher education courses; there are different categories of Vocational *Lises*:
  - Industrial Vocational *Lises* providing programmes for 43 trade areas
  - Commercial and Tourism *Lises*
  - Vocational *Lises* for Girls
  - Agricultural *Lises*
  - Religious *Lises*
- ***Technical Lises***: they prepare within 4 years for working life as well as for higher education (without restriction); training of technicians is offered in 13 trade areas including machinery, electricity, electronics, metals and construction.

The first year of Vocational and of Technical *Lises* is a common one. The best students then go on to the technical branch. General subjects have a greater weight in Technical Lises than in Vocational Lises, equalling that in General *Lises*.

About 90 per cent of pupils completing middle school go on to high school. Thus, only a small percentage of middle school leavers takes up apprenticeship or directly enter working life.

Secondary schools, as well as primary and middle schools, are co-educational in principle. But in 1983 there were only 10 000 girls among the 185 000 pupils in vocational high schools. This means that girls are largely excluded from occupations that provide good future prospects. They tend to go to vocational *Lises* for girls which prepare them for occupations traditionally reserved for women.

The distribution of students at the high school level indicates that the General *Lise* is still dominating with an intake of 60 per cent, while only 40 per cent enter vocationally-oriented schools. However, Vocational and Technical *Lises* are becoming progressively more attractive so that, owing to their limited entrance capacity, today there exists a *numerus clausus*. Access to these schools is only possible through a nation-wide entrance examination, which only one in two candidates passes.

One reason for the growing attractiveness of these schools is that the employment opportunities for their graduates are much better than those for the General *Lise* leavers. Another one is the declining value of the General *Lise* Diploma when it comes to access to higher education. At this level of the system, a *numerus clausus* is also applied. Out of 500 000 applicants per year (among them those who wish to change courses) only 150 000 pass the nation-wide entrance examination (including entrance to the Open University). We were told that those graduates of General *Lises* who are rejected comprise the group affected by the highest rate of unemployment (20-22 per cent). On the other hand, there are growing shortages of technicians, skilled workers and craftsmen in many trades, particularly in electrical, electronic, automotive, metal-machining, metal-working and woodworking trades.

In order to respond to the changing needs of middle-school leavers as well as the manpower demands of the Turkish economy, the Government is pursuing the aim of reversing the structure of the transition to high schools from a relation of 60:40 (General *Lises*: Vocational and Technical *Lises*) to 40:60 and of raising the intake capacity of the vocational sector significantly. Whereas in 1984/85 there were 433 000 students in vocational full-time schools, the five-year development plan envisages an extension to 698 000 places by 1989/90. In total, 1 334 000 students will then attend the upper secondary schools. That would imply an increase in educational participation at this level from about 30 per cent in 1983/84 to nearly 40 per cent of the age group, a target that will be difficult to achieve.

A new dual system of vocational training

In order to enlarge the intake capacity of Vocational *Lises* as rapidly as possible and to strengthen the quality of their programmes, Turkey is undertaking a most ambitious reform that has been initiated together with the modernization of apprenticeship through the "Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act" of 1986. Its main objective is to use the enterprise sector as a second learning setting and thus to develop a "dual system" at the upper secondary level as well.

Four reasons have been put forward for this decision:

- to develop further attractive vocational routes as alternatives to the General *Lise*;
- to expand training capacity by adding in-the-firm training elements to school education;
- to increase the practical element in the courses;
- to make trainees familiar with new technologies not available in school workshops.

The Ministry determines branches of activity and the provinces that have to adhere to the new law. Within that scope firms with 50 or more employees are obliged to provide skill training for students of Vocational High Schools, their number corresponding to 5-10 per cent of the total personnel. Firms that do not meet this requirement have to pay a levy to a new fund that has been created to sponsor the development of apprenticeship and training at high school level.

The first year of Vocational High School will remain a year of full-time schooling. For the second and third years, however, the school component will be reduced to 12-16 hours per week, i.e. 2 days, and supplemented by 3 days of on-the-job training. The Ministry not only determines the principles and methods to be followed by enterprise-based training and the examination rules, but also the training programmes for each training area as a supplement to school curricula. Students are entitled to a training allowance that is paid by the firm while health insurance costs are covered by the State. This gradual introduction of a dual form of vocational training is being built on pilot projects that started in 1978/79 and – like the reform of apprenticeship – is generously supported by the World Bank.

The Turkish government is fully aware that the applicability of the new law is dependent on prerequisites that are not available throughout the country, above all a sufficient number of firms in industry, commerce and crafts providing training places and ensuring that training corresponds to the manpower requirements of the region. In the school year 1986/87 implementation of the reform started in 34 provinces, while training in the other 33 provinces continued in the form of full-time schooling or by means of apprenticeships, as did training in those vocational fields that are not yet included in the reform.

Since education in general subjects has been significantly reduced during the second and third years, Vocational *Lises* can no longer maintain their claim to provide students with a full academic and vocational double qualification, contrary to the 4 years' Technical High Schools, for which the authorities plan the integration of a smaller practical element of only 8 to 12 hours per week. In future, therefore, reformed Vocational High Schools will no longer open direct access to higher education entrance examinations. But transition will remain possible through an additional year of attendance at the Technical High School or via privately-offered courses. After one year of practical work experience, Vocational High-School leavers can qualify for a mastership.

In view of the very short preparation time available to the schools and enterprises concerned, the present change in the training system constitutes a great challenge to both

partners of the new "dual system". Through regulation and circulars the Ministry has called for support for the reform and for close institutional co-operation and planned to hold a special meeting with the provincial Directors of Education to coordinate the implementation strategy. When visiting Vocational High Schools and firms, however, we felt that there was, particularly on the business side, a great need for basic information on the objectives to be pursued and for practical assistance, which has to be provided urgently if the reform is not to fail.

The expectations of the new dual system will only be fulfilled if the new practical element in on-the-job training is effected at a satisfactory qualitative level. The Ministry has revised timetables and the curricula for the reduced school instruction while the drafting of training programme guidelines for in-plant training is still under way.

The factor which in the end will be decisive for ensuring the quality of training is the availability of highly-qualified practical instructors. Here Turkey is still only at the beginning. A crash programme offering pedagogical and theoretical further training to skilled workers and craftsmen is the only realistic way to overcome this deficiency. We learnt that, apparently as a provisional strategy, teachers of vocational schools will accompany their students and supervise practical training in the firms. In the long run this does not seem to be a satisfactory solution if the enterprise sector is to play its specific role actively in the dual system of vocational training, especially as there is a lack of well-qualified school teachers for vocational theory and practice, too.

New mechanisms to promote vocational training cooperation with the social partners

Both reforms, the modernization of apprenticeship in smaller firms of the handicraft sector and of industry as well as the introduction of a dual system of training in Vocational High Schools and in larger enterprises of industry, commerce and the crafts, shall be promoted through a new Fund for the Development and Extension of Apprenticeship, Vocational and Technical Training. The fund will be at the disposal of the Ministry, its main sources being

- an additional percentage on income and corporation tax;
- a levy to be paid by those firms that do not meet their legal obligation to offer part-time training to vocational schools' students;
- contributions from chambers of industry and commerce and from unions;
- an allowance allocated in the annual ministerial budget.

To increase its capacity for planning, research and development the Ministry will be assisted by a "Vocational and Technical Training Research and Development Centre" (established in 1987), the initial capital of which will be financed out of the new fund. It is proposed to entrust the centre with a broad spectrum of duties that will make it necessary to draw on the support of other research institutes. One of the highest priorities will be to build up the centre's capacity for the developing of curricula and textbooks as well as training material and equipment.

The Turkish government has declared the extension and modernization of vocational and technical training a national undertaking of outstanding importance for the economic and social future of the country. Both innovations combined in the reform act of 1986 build essentially on enterprise practice as a second learning setting and, thus, on the willingness of the business sector to offer sufficient training places and to ensure the necessary standard of training. They will only succeed if the State cooperates closely with the social partners, using

their expertise and ensuring their political and practical support. Such an approach of active participation should be practised at the national and provincial level – in the respective Councils for Apprenticeship and Vocational Training – as well as at the local level through close interaction between individual schools and enterprises.

General high schools – the call for quality and relevance

In the years to come General High Schools will continue to form the core of secondary education in Turkey in that they will teach the majority of young people who continue education after middle school. What they and their parents expect above all is successful preparation for entrance examinations to universities. More and more, however, students are also in need of directly applicable knowledge and skills that might enable them to take up employment or enter work-oriented training courses when the doors of universities are closed.

For the growing number of high-school leavers who fail the university entrance examination and do not get jobs, special bridging programmes have been developed to improve their employability and their basic skills, i.e. for clerical work. Such programmes are provided by seven Training Centres for Adults and also by Vocational and Technical High Schools.

Another more preventive response to the worsening prospects of General *Lise* leavers is to enrich the curriculum with more practice-oriented content so that it is no longer a one-way road to university which for many is a dead-end. Such a development, we think, should be combined with more systematic provision of educational counselling and vocational guidance. Neither at middle school nor at high school level did we meet any institutionalised approach to giving systematic advice, although the need for it is growing as educational offerings diversify and labour market demands keep changing.

Adding new optional subjects to the *Lise* curriculum that prepare for working and adult life increases the pressures to ease the time table of its extremely heavy load of 39 hours per week. The Ministry is planning a reduction to 30 hours, 4 of which will be reserved for individual choices in the second and third forms of the *Lise*. On the other hand, the school year is quite short. Government should consider whether a reduction of the weekly timetable should go along with a prolongation of school time over the year and a reduction of the summer vacation varying in length according to local seasonal needs and climatic conditions.

The pedagogical climate in high schools is greatly influenced by the repercussions of the nation-wide entrance examination to universities. Not to cross this threshold means that one's career opportunities are drastically reduced. The central entrance examination to higher education consists of two parts. The first is a selective test of general knowledge and abilities (Turkish and foreign languages, multiple tests). The second concerns placement and is thus related to the desired study area. Both examinations apply the multiple-choice method. We were told that the questions are closely related to the *Lise* curriculum and not pitched at a very demanding level. On the other hand, teaching in the *Lise* is highly focused on meeting the requirements of the entrance examination and this leads to overemphasis on memorisation in classroom instruction and reinforces the repetitive character of the teaching and learning process.

The quality of educational performance in General *Lises* is sharply criticised by parents and the public. Quality is suffering from excessive student-teacher ratios in many High Schools, frequently cancelled classroom hours, and the inadequacy of a number of teachers. Parents are worried about their children's chances of gaining admission to university. The result is the flourishing of private schools for which a rising market is foreseen.

Thus, public *Lises* are increasingly in competition with private *Lises*. Starting conditions in both types are different. Offering significantly higher pay, private *Lises* can attract the best qualified teachers and engage teachers from abroad. Like the public "Anadolou-schools", which are discussed below, they comprehend the middle as well as the upper secondary level. Access is only possible through a nation-wide entrance examination after five years of primary school and special courses are offered privately to prepare for it. This leads to a creaming-off effect that further diminishes the prestige of the normal type of General *Lises*, which risk becoming only second-class schools. It also has critical social and political implications, despite the obligation of private *Lises* to reserve seven per cent of their places for children of low-income families without raising fees.

The development of Anadolou Lises

In this context a feature of the public school sector has to be taken into consideration, namely, the role of *Anadolou Schools*. Like most private schools, they cover both the middle and the upper secondary level. Their main mission is to intensify the learning of foreign languages: 70 per cent of teaching, particularly science and maths, is conducted in a foreign language, mostly in English, but there are also Anadolou *Lises* that teach in German or French. Anadolou *Lises* follow the same curricula as normal Lises but they operate under better conditions, particularly with lower student-teacher ratios.

Entry to Anadolou *Lises* is only possible through a nation-wide examination and is highly competitive. So, these public schools, like private schools, receive students of above-average academic ability who come mainly from socially privileged families.

In addition to the Anadolou General *Lises*, four Anadolou Technical *Lises* and one Vocational *Lise* have been established. A further extension of this type of public schools is planned, partly with the help of foreign aid that is to be used to assist Turkish students returning from abroad to reintegrate into the national education system.

Turkey's efforts to underpin her opening up to the world by promoting the mastery of foreign languages through the model of Anadolou schools are remarkable. We think, however, that a further extension of this type of school under such privileged conditions must not be allowed to lead to a public school system that is separated into two castes. What is needed is a determined attempt to improve the overall quality of schooling in the normal General *Lise* without detriment to the pursuit of excellence.

One area where improvements are particularly urgent is the teaching of foreign languages. Teachers apparently lack practical experience of the language they teach, so that there is a necessity for exchange programmes and support by foreign language assistants that can only be met through international cooperation and aid from abroad. This necessity is discussed further in the next chapter.

Conclusions

To sum up, the expansion and further development of education and training at the upper secondary level present an outstanding challenge to Turkey. The increasing diversification of the system by the strengthening of vocational routes and the introduction of industrial practice as an additional learning setting give the individual a choice between offerings of a more academic and a more practice-orientated character. And it corresponds to the growing need of the Turkish economy for skilled manpower, particularly of skilled workers, craftsmen and technicians.

We have not analysed training for agricultural occupations which remain of vital importance for Turkey. But we feel it is advisable to consider whether this sector should not also be included under the reform of vocational training.

The planned investment in the expansion and improvement of vocational training and in the Anadolou School branch, as well as the flourishing of a new private school sector, must not lead to neglect of the quality of education in state-run General *Lises*. Their situation can only be improved if the present enrolment burden is eased through the extension of alternative vocational routes and if *Lises* are given the necessary resources and required to guarantee satisfactory educational standards, the key factor being the availability of sufficient and properly trained teachers.

The Turkish government should seek to reduce the pressure which competition to gain university entrance is exerting on the school system. To that end it would seem advisable not to increase the capacity of universities but to develop more vocationally-orientated programmes of training at the tertiary level.

As long as transition from the middle to the upper secondary level and to higher education continues to be fiercely competitive, every possible effort should be made to ensure a fair distribution of opportunities among young people of different social origins and from different regions as well as between the sexes. Here education has the important responsibility of helping society to avoid damaging frictions and contributing to the stable political development of the country.

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IV

SUPPLY, TRAINING, PLACEMENT AND CAREERS OF TEACHERS

Supply and quality

The issues and problems surrounding the supply, training and placement of teachers in Turkey are very close to those pertaining in the great majority of OECD countries at the present time. Such differences as exist are largely caused by the geographical size and configuration of the country, the isolation of thousands of rural communities and the consequences of a high birthrate. As we have seen, Turkey unlike most other countries is facing a problem not of falling, but of rising, school enrolments at all levels.

Despite the rapidly increasing birthrate Turkey has been remarkably successful in recruiting and training sufficient teachers to meet the demand for school places and in keeping the overall teacher/pupil ratio within reasonable bounds. There are shortages of teachers in some subject areas of upper secondary education, especially science, and it is not easy to secure teachers for technical and vocational training who are at once pedagogically competent and fully qualified in their theoretical or practical specialisms. These shortages of specialists, however, are no more acute than in many other countries. What does cause concern is the supply imbalance between the Eastern and Western halves of the country, the former having a significant deficit and the latter a considerable surplus. Some difficulty is also experienced in attracting suitably qualified subject teachers to certain schools in Istanbul because of the high cost of living accommodation.

The total number of teachers, 352 873 (see Table 6) provides for a pupil/teacher ratio that is only slightly below the average in Western Europe, though the figure conceals wide disparities from one school to another. We were told that pupil/teacher ratios of 60:1 and 70:1 were widespread in urban areas and ourselves visited schools with ratios of approximately fifty to one. At the same time we came across very low ratios in rural areas. One primary/middle school had a ratio of 15:1, eighteen teachers for a school of 250, which was accounted for by the need for specialisation in the middle years. In a nearby town we were told that ratios were much higher, but that transport difficulties made transfers of pupils impossible.

Given the human factors involved some diseconomies in teacher supply are inevitable and the authorities certainly strive hard to remove them. Nevertheless, it may be that the rules governing the placement of teachers need to be reconsidered so as to allow for more local discretion in matching supply and demand.

Table 6. **Number of schools, teachers and students in 1985/86 school year**

Type of school		Number of schools	Number of students	Number of teachers
Pre-school education establishments		3 339	93 810	5 038
Primary schools		49 200	6 637 023	214 193
Middle school	General	4 598	1 674 593	42 951
	Vocational and technical	593	180 437	1 329
Lycées	General lycées	1 349	627 869	50 577
	Industrial and vocational lycées	447	187 320	12 423
	Vocational lycées for girls	268	38 029	9 197
	Tourism and commercial lycées	222	95 382	6 094
	Imam and preachers lycées	376	92 431	11 048
	Physical education lycées	5	373	11
	Health lycées	1	126	12
Total		56 800	9 627 395	352 873

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

On the whole it seemed to us that school direction and administration were well staffed and accommodated. Almost invariably headteachers and their deputies and assistants have good-sized rooms even when teaching accommodation is under strain. We had no opportunity to pursue the quantitative relationship between administrative and teaching staff in the education service, but we suggest that, at a time when resources are stretched, this should be kept under review so as to ensure that the maximum number of teachers is actually engaged in teaching.

The main concern of the authorities is not, however, about the quantity of teachers in post but about their quality. It is widely acknowledged that over the years many teachers have been recruited to primary schools who have failed to perform effectively. The situation has become more serious with the expansion of the lower secondary level for they lack mastery of any one discipline and their intellectual horizons are too circumscribed to enable them to cope with a modern curriculum. This imposes the necessity of raising the general educational level of the existing teaching force besides ensuring that new-comers to the profession are suitably qualified. At the upper secondary level, there is no less concern about quality. Many of the teachers were trained initially as, for example, lawyers and engineers, and lack suitable knowledge of the subjects they are required to teach and adequate communications skills. From the Minister of Education downwards we were told again and again that improving teacher quality was the priority of priorities. One very senior official said that improving

teacher performance would solve "half the problems in the schools". The solution lies, needless to say, in strengthening the provision of initial training and greatly expanding in-service training (INSET).

Initial training

Until 1982 initial teacher preparation was provided in teacher training colleges for those destined for primary schools and in universities for those destined for secondary schools. Students were admitted to the former after completing lower secondary education and to the latter after completion of upper secondary education.

Under the law of 1982 all initial training was transferred to the universities and henceforward required completion of the full secondary education cycle, that is, acquisition of a *lise* diploma or *baccalauréat*. Future primary school teachers were to undergo two years of training and future secondary teachers were to follow a four-year programme leading to a licence (bachelor's degree) and providing for in-depth study of a major and minor subject as well as courses on pedagogy and teaching practice. Eventually, the authorities intend that all training courses will cover four years and lead to a degree. In other words, an all-graduate profession will be established. That intention conforms with the prevailing trend throughout most OECD countries.

The shifting of responsibility for the training of teachers to the universities under the ultimate authority and direction of the Higher Education Council (YÖK) has inevitably created adjustment problems and led to deep misgivings on the part of some officials, administrators and teachers. No doubt the adjustment problems can be solved within the mid-term future. The misgivings will be less easy to dispel.

The principal bone of contention is the initial training of teachers for the compulsory school (primary and lower secondary). And here we are faced with a paradox. On the one hand, the very reason for establishing courses at the post-secondary rather than the upper secondary level according to the law of 1982 was because the quality of many primary school teachers was known to be inadequate. The reasoning behind the change appeared impeccable : students undertaking post-secondary studies would necessarily be better qualified than those in the past who had simply completed upper secondary level education. On the other hand, critics claim that the new entrants to teacher training are of much lower calibre than those who entered before the reform.

In the course of many interviews and wide-ranging discussion with officials, inspectors and teachers, the examiners were struck by the general tendency to approve of or at least be circumspect about criticising any major aspect of the existing school system, whether it were a question of organisational or curricular matters or of processes. There was one recent reform, however, to which practically all our interlocutors were opposed and this was none other than the transfer of responsibility to universities for the initial training of primary school teachers. Opposition was justified on two grounds: *i)* those now being selected for training are coming from the ranks of the lowest achievers leaving the secondary school; *ii)* the universities are not properly equipped to provide appropriate training, especially in the realm of pedagogy. The previous system was far superior in its effects for it had assured the recruitment of high achieving and fully motivated pupils from the lower secondary level, many of the very young people who now go on to the upper secondary level but do *not* opt for a teaching career thereafter. The old *écoles normales* (teacher training colleges), staffed by former practising teachers, had become experienced and skilful in turning out professionally qualified and committed graduates who were genuinely motivated to teach at the primary level.

Two further related complaints are voiced against the new order. The first is that in past years a large number of entrants to teacher training came from rural areas, knew about farming, empathised with village folk and positively wished to serve in a rural school. The second is that only a few of the new entrants originate from rural areas. That is bad enough but, worse still, many have no vocation for teaching. Candidates for admission to training programmes are selected on the basis of impersonal multiple questions tests alone and not interviewed with a view to assessing the appropriateness of their personalities as potential teachers. These criticisms of initial training are compounded by an alleged mismatch between the curriculum offered and the curriculum of the schools, by the fact that the two-year course is too short and that the four-year course allocates too little time to teaching practice.

We gained the impression that there are reasonable grounds for concern about the effectiveness of the new initial training system and that significant improvements are called for. Proposals for improving the effectiveness of recruitment procedures and training provision were put forward by the Supreme Council of Education in 1982. They remain valid and we would only wish to put our own gloss on them.

First, it is evident that very close cooperation between universities and the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports is required in recruiting students to teacher training colleges and faculties of education, in developing appropriate curricula and in orientating faculty towards new subject matter and teaching methods.

In selecting students to the teacher training departments of faculties of education a quota has been set aside for entrants from the remaining old teacher *and* vocational and technical *lises*. It is important that the curriculum in those *should* include elective courses designed to encourage individual students to opt for teaching as their future profession.

Students graduating from a *lise* as first, second or third in the overall achievement classification are admitted to teacher training institutions in their preferred subjects without an entrance examination. The examiners suggest that they should also be given a personality test to ascertain whether they are up to the challenges of the classroom.

In order to provide an integrated and balanced curriculum for students in training, a reasonable balance must be found between courses related to the students' specialism, courses concerned with general education and courses concerned with pedagogy, and practice and observation in the schools.

Staff in faculties and schools of higher education employed as researchers, assistants, instructors and professors should attend courses on the theory and practice of pedagogy with an emphasis on versatile and up-to-date teaching methods.

It is necessary to establish pre-school, special education, basic education and secondary education units within the universities to serve as centres for teaching practice.

In areas where there is a need for joint research, development and implementation, close cooperation with the Board of Education should also be established.

Society's expectations of teachers

What is expected of a teacher who has graduated from an initial training institution is so ambitious and explicitly formulated that it merits full quotation and comment.

"*1. General objectives of teacher training*

The candidate for the teaching profession who has completed a teacher training institution:

a) is aware of the fact that the fundamental aim of all educational activities is to raise a generation who will exalt the Turkish Republic and Ataturk's principles and keep them alive;

b) is conscious of the relations between the development problems of the country and education and is aware that the generations he will raise will take a role in the development of the country;

c) knows the conceptual structure, methodology and terminology of the educational sciences;

d) solves educational problems by conducting research and studies and thus ensures development in education;

e) knows the role that various courses play in the overall educational programmes of the schools;

f) is aware of the physiological, sociological and psychological factors that affect the pupils' development and at the same time understands the needs of a certain developmental period, and the role and responsibilities of education in meeting these needs;

g) has knowledge about the educational process; knows that his prime duty is to help in raising the child rather than to judge him;

h) promotes the abilities of each child, by taking individual differences into consideration;

i) acquires the ability of using the knowledge he possesses in the field of teaching, in developing the pupils' attitudes;

j) has the ability to communicate by using all the available facilities;

k) can make good use of scientific and technological developments in his profession and in his field;

l) is aware of the status, ethical standards, important problems of the teaching profession and the possibilities and opportunities that the profession offers.

2. General standards of the teaching profession

a) Teaching is a profession.

b) Teaching profession requires a special professional efficiency.

c) Individuals who have gone through teacher training programmes are responsible for educational tasks and for administrative functions when asked.

d) Teachers have to perform their duties in accordance with the objectives and basic principles of Turkish National Education."

Four features of that litany of the knowledge, skills, competences and attributes expected of teachers are noteworthy. The first is that the teacher is required to be much more than a subject specialist and qualified pedagogue. He or she must also be aware of the forces shaping the development of his country and how education can contribute to coping with them. Secondly, the teacher is expected to have the ability to identify and meet the individual needs of each pupil. Thirdly, teaching is regarded as a profession that must maintain a distinctive status and ethical standards. Fourthly, teachers are set specific tasks and administrative functions to perform, an intriguing presumption at a time when in certain countries education authorities are earnestly seeking to define teachers' duties in exact terms.

The examiners have no reservations about endorsing Turkey's expectations of its teachers since they conform with the most advanced ideas to be found in other OECD countries. Nor can they usefully add any further items to the list. Their reservation is about the awesome difficulty of translating all the expectations into initial teacher training programmes. Will the

result not be to overload the syllabuses in two-year and four-year courses and to include requirements in initial training that can only really be satisfied when trainees will have had several years of practical experience in the schools? Certainly, the need to ensure continuity between initial and in-service training becomes paramount.

There is no less of a need for changing attitudes and practices among teacher trainers and teachers in post. Their thinking appears to be too often rigid and traditionalist. Subject mastery is more valued than pedagogical skills. During a short visit we necessarily spent too little time observing teachers in action in the classroom. Nevertheless, what we did see confirmed anecdotal evidence that teachers rely heavily on a didactic style of presentation. They view themselves above all as dispensers of factual knowledge.

In-service training (INSET)

INSET is regarded by the Ministry of Education as a top priority. That is borne out by the large number of courses organised annually, the striking rate of annual increase, and the relatively high participation rate of teachers from both the primary and secondary level. Indeed, if one includes the huge upgrading programme offered by the Open University, which will be described and discussed below, Turkey is surpassed by no OECD country in the scale of its INSET provision.

In principle, new teachers are systematically inducted into their first posts. For the first year they are attached to an experienced teacher whom they observe and assist without giving lessons. At the end of the year, the supervising teacher makes a report on the basis of which the novice is taken on or asked to leave. Apparently, nearly all the newcomers successfully overcome the first year hurdle. We also understand that a number of newcomers start regular teaching without any fixed period of initiation.

The INSET programme is financed (budget of one billion TL for 1986/87) and planned centrally by the Ministry of Education. However, the local organisation is undertaken by the education authorities in each province. A national committee on teacher training determines priorities each year and plans the year's programme. Ideas emerge from several sources : national and local inspectors; directorates within the Ministry of Education; provincial directors: school principals and advisers; university faculties. Whenever a major curricular change occurs or a new method or type of equipment – for example, the installation of computers in secondary schools – is introduced, appropriate courses are immediately organised.

The object is to provide courses throughout the country and to reach all teachers sooner or later, though in practice, as in other countries, the teachers who most need help are the least likely to seek to enrol. Some courses are compulsory, however, for certain groups of teachers and inspectors frequently insist that a teacher obviously wanting in required knowledge or skills take a prescribed course. On average, approximately 80 per cent of participants attend on a voluntary basis. The demand for places greatly exceeds the supply available. Places for up to 50 000 participants were available in 1985/86 and courses envisaging 87 000 places were planned for 1986/87. No material reward is gained from course attendance unless a participant acquires a certificate.

Courses vary in length from two days to six months according to the demands of the topic. The syllabuses are designed usually by university staff in consultation with inspectors. Current priorities include the teaching of mathematics, foreign languages and technical and vocational subjects. Courses are taught by university staff and specialists from industry and commerce. They cover a wide range of sectors and specialists: primary, secondary, technical

and vocational and adult education, education for the handicapped, principals, school administrators, inspectors and school equipment officers.

In order to provide a centre of excellence for INSET the Ministry of Education intends to set up as from 1987 a national institute. This is, evidently, an important departure. It is to be hoped that it will undertake, as one of its functions, to monitor examples of pedagogical innovations and good teaching practice and ensure that they are widely known. It is also recommended that consideration be given to setting up learning resource centres for teachers if not in each province at least in all the main regions.

Turkey already has a network of teachers' centres in each province designed to provide accommodation for visiting teachers and administrators and meeting places for local teachers who pay a small subscription in order to enjoy membership. Is it feasible to think of adding to their existing functions the task of serving as learning resource centres even on a small scale? Is it not desirable to plan and organise courses at the provincial level in addition to those initiated and financed from the centre?

It can readily be seen that INSET is well organised, relatively generously financed and equitably provided throughout the country. The unknown factor is its impact on school performance and classroom practice. No doubt the national and provincial inspectors can pass subjective judgement on its effectiveness but that is scarcely enough. We would suggest that systematic monitoring procedures are called for, perhaps under the control and management of the new national institute. In the following paragraphs we consider particular training needs.

The Open University and distance learning

In order to deal with the need to upgrade the knowledge and skills of teachers in primary schools, the Ministry of Education has chosen an extraordinarily bold and comprehensive solution, namely, to resort to the "open university" method as a way of enabling all those who wish to study for a university degree. The lure is enticing for acquisition of a degree leads to an automatic increase in salary and enhances promotion prospects. A salary increase is particularly important for those nearing retirement since it also means a better pension. Not surprisingly, therefore, the take-up of places has been on an enormous scale – 133 000 enrolments in 1986/87, almost two-thirds of the teaching force in elementary schools.

Students follow studies which consist of a modified form of the regular two-year programme. The first year offers basic courses in subject or disciplinary areas. Teaching methods and psychology are introduced in the second year. Special course texts have been prepared under supervision of the Open University education faculty. Four courses are offered on television and three on radio during peak viewing and listening hours. Students must take a mid-term and end-of-year test based on the multiple choice principle and using a fully computerised system. The pass mark is fixed at 50 per cent. It is understood that students may meet together in small groups for discussion purposes but frankly recognised that the great majority will have to rely on solitary study of the prescribed texts supplemented by viewing and listening.

From an administrative point of view the operation is streamlined and economic to manage. The Ministry of Education pays 26 000 lire per year (approximately 47 US dollars at the time of the examiners' visit) for each student, who pays an additional fee of 7 000 lire. Even allowing for hidden costs, that is extraordinarely cheap and a fraction of the cost incurred by full-time students attending the regular university programme.

The big question, of course, is whether a course put together so quickly and economically and involving almost no contact between teachers and students or, indeed, between students, has qualitative value. At the end of the course what have the students actually learnt? Are they perceptibly better teachers? We encountered a number of teachers who found the courses theoretical and unrelated to their actual tasks in the classroom. There ought to be a systematic evaluation of the programme's impact.

In principle, we think that the Open University crash programme was a reasonable stop-gap solution to a tremendous problem and certainly better than doing nothing. But in future it would be desirable to strengthen the course by the addition of regular contact between tutors and taught, by correspondence and by supervised classes for groups of students in their various localities.

Selection and in-service training of principals

In Turkey school principals have considerable status and authority despite being neither paid significantly higher salaries than teachers nor being charged with determining the curriculum, as principals are in some countries. Their status derives from the place they occupy in a clearly demarcated hierarchy and the trappings of office they enjoy. Their authority lies in control of each teacher's timetable and general management of their schools. They would necessarily exercise greater responsibility if, as we have suggested above, there were to be devolution of power from the centre to the provinces and schools.

However, they receive no specific training before or after becoming principals. Indeed, all the principals whom we interviewed showed surprise on being asked whether they had received any special training for or specific induction into their posts. They simply assumed that their experience as senior teachers, perhaps exercising one or two administrative functions, and their observations of how the principals under whom they had served had behaved were a sufficient preparation.

Although being well aware that in certain other OECD countries it is still implicitly understood that principals are born rather than made, or even not required at all, the examiners do consider that it is desirable to organise special courses for intending principals and to ensure that, having been appointed, principals should attend regular courses on school supervision and management, especially during their first years in charge of a school.

Foreign language teachers

The teaching of foreign languages occupies, as we have noted in Chapter III, an important place in Turkish schools. By common consent, however, it is not very well done. In the course of our visit we encountered a good number of foreign language teachers, especially of English, and immediately perceived, as most of them hastened to confirm, that their spoken command of the foreign language was very poor; several teachers of English said that they found it positively embarrassing to have to converse with an English speaker. We had few opportunities to test their knowledge of grammar, syntax and vocabulary but were left with the impression that their use of the written language was also imperfect. The consequence is that many young people are being taught to speak and write in a foreign language that is riddled with errors.

The defects arise not from any lack of enthusiasm or application but from the teachers' lack of first-hand experience of the countries in whose language or languages they are

required to specialise. The cost of sending a critical mass of teachers abroad in order to become immersed in a foreign language would be undeniably too great for the education authorities to bear. In the Anadolou schools the situation is mitigated by the employment of foreign nationals; in one school we visited in Istanbul, for example, there was a number of former nationals teaching science subjects, whose salaries were being paid by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. Perhaps foreign nationals should be more widely distributed among schools.

There is no easy or cost-free solution to the problem. We would only recommend that many more intensive language courses should be organised under the INSET programme with the strong participation of foreign nationals, that still greater efforts should be made to recruit foreign language instructors from abroad on short-term assignments to teach in other than the Anadolou schools, and that carefully prepared manuals for teachers should be widely distributed.

Teaching the handicapped

No specific system exists for the training of teachers of the physically and mentally handicapped. We were also informed that most teachers do not accept the integration of the handicapped in the regular schools. Two universities offer certificate programmes. A few short INSET courses are also offered annually. What is required is a determined attempt to sensitise all students on pre-service courses and teachers attending INSET courses to the needs of the handicapped. The Open University might also provide purpose-designed courses on the learning needs of the handicapped.

Teachers of adults and adult education organisers

In Chapter III we have expressed our views on the training requirements of teachers in the vocational education and *training* sector at the upper secondary level. Here our concern is with the training requirements of those who teach general and vocational subjects to adults.

There were, in 1985, 28 000 full-time workers in adult education, covering a wide range of roles and activities. That is a large number even if a significant percentage of them is concerned with literacy programmes.

According to information given to the examiners the General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Adult Education offered INSET courses in 1984 for the following participants: 284 guidance specialists, 1 700 civil servants, 2 200 course teachers and over 20 000 teachers dealing with special subjects. Courses were also offered for adult education administrators and organisers. Topics covered included educational administration, programme development, pedagogic training, organisation and administration of adult education, guidance, and vocational and technical education for adults.

What appears to be missing is provision of specially designed courses leading to formal qualifications in adult education. The examiners would recommend that the following types of courses should be introduced as far as possible: *i)* optional courses in adult education in the regular two-or four-year teacher training programmes; *ii)* a course on adult education to be offered by the Open University; *iii)* first degree and post-graduate degree courses in adult education to be offered in at least two universities.

Placement of teachers in isolated areas

The authorities have adopted a deliberate policy of favouring isolated or hardship rural areas when it comes to the placement of teachers. Thus, 60 per cent of newly qualified teachers must serve at least the first three years of their careers in one of the Eastern provinces against the former percentage of only thirty. The Ministry of Education has also launched a programme for constructing teachers' houses that has begun in the East. A high proportion of teachers in rural areas are men, most of them with families; often a husband and wife teach in the same rural school.

The priority in favour of rural areas, particularly in the Eastern provinces, is related to a long-standing aim of teacher placement policies, which is to use teachers as agents in bringing about the integration of a national culture against the background of cultural and ethnic pluralism, epitomised by the use of many dialects. The rural teacher still counts for much in the local community and as a rule plays a major part not only in shaping the attitudes and values of pupils but in sustaining and enhancing the quality of rural life. The examiners visited too few rural schools to risk generalisations but they were impressed by the manifest dedication of those teachers whom they met and the testimony of local administrators that village schools were staffed by teachers who were both competent for the most part and content to be living and working precisely where they were. It is to be noted that the living conditions in rural areas, in the material sense at any rate, are rapidly improving as more roads are built, electricity and running water are installed, and television reception comes to reinforce access to the radio. Rural teachers thus feel relatively less isolated than heretofore both from larger settlements and the national mainstream of information and culture. In addition, through its INSET programmes, the Ministry of Education strives to provide opportunities for them to attend courses in residential centres where they can experience a change of environment and exchange views with colleagues from other areas. The examiners consider that, in addition, it is necessary to develop better support services for rural teachers by setting up, for example, small-scale learning resource centres to serve clusters of ten or so villages.

Status and salaries

We heard contradictory opinions about the status of teachers. Some interlocutors said that their status was low whereas others claimed that it was high. In general, it was agreed that teachers in rural schools were esteemed by village communities. Our own impression was that, compared with many other countries, teachers enjoy a satisfactory measure of public appreciation. They certainly command the respect and attention of their pupils.

There were also conflicting views about teacher salaries, although majority opinion within the education world considered them reasonable. Table 7 suggests that they compared favourably with the salaries of other professional groups, not least civil servants. We consciously use the past tense since soon after our visit teachers were awarded a salary increase of no less than 25 per cent. That rise is in itself a sufficient testimony to the regard in which the State holds the teaching profession and the determination of the Ministry of Education to attract high achieving students from the *lycées* into pre-service training programmes. It must be stated, however, that the rate of inflation is high in Turkey and that the new salary scales still compare unfavourably with those on offer in many private schools not to speak of commercial firms such as car rental companies.

Table 7. **Salaries of selected professional groups, 1986**

Per month

	Approximate minimum TL	Approximate maximum TL
University sector		
Full professor	420000	450000
Associate professor	350000	400000
Assistant professor	300000	325000
Non-university sector		
Judge (Supreme Court)	450000	550000
Physician (State hospital)	210000 (plus revolving fund)	300000
Under-secretary	350000	450000
Director-general	325000	375000
Lycée teacher	200000	230000
Primary school teacher	150000	180000
Bank manager (public)	300000	350000
Bank manager (private)	400000	Negotiable
Civil servant (grade I)	125000	130000
Civil servant (grade X)	65000	100000
Public librarian	150000	200000

Source: Higher Education Council (YOK), Ankara.

Career incentives and conditions of service

Career incentives are good, though undoubtedly much more attractive for men than for women. There exists a promotional pyramid within the schools and there are openings into specialist posts, local and national inspectorates, and provincial and national educational administrations. Virtually all administrators are former teachers.

Conditions of service are demanding but at the same time generous. Most teachers have a heavy work load with many contact hours and we have already seen that a good number of rural teachers have to deal with multi-grade classes. But they also have very long holidays – June 1st to September 22nd in the summer – qualify for a seventy per cent pension after only twenty years of service. Many also live in free or low-rent accommodation.

Early retirement

The very early retirement of teachers is intriguing from several points of view. From that of the State it represents, arguably, an intolerable financial burden, especially in view of the huge increase in the pool of teachers in recent decades. It also means that each year many practitioners are lost to the profession who could still offer ten or more years of exemplary service. On the other hand, it permits the shedding of incompetent teachers and a regular infusion of new blood. The problem facing many countries of having the same teachers in post for forty years or so is avoided. Without moving towards the retirement age of sixty or sixty

five, which applies in many OECD countries, the Turkish authorities might well consider the feasibility of introducing, by increments, a retirement age of, say, fifty five. By doing so they would obtain more years of service out of teachers and little by little reduce the cost of retirement pensions.

From the point of view of most but not all teachers such an early age of retirement is, surely, damaging psychologically. It is attractive only to those who have a quite different job to turn to or those who have the opportunity to move into the private sector of education. But does the State wish to strengthen the private at the expense of the public sector by providing it with a regular flow of well qualified and experienced teachers?

Private school teachers

We have already referred in general terms to the rising strength of private schools in Chapter III. Apart from hiring retired teachers from the public service many private schools are able to attract outstanding younger teachers by offering salaries considerably above those offered in the public sector. We visited one private *lycée* where teachers were paid three times the public service rate. At the present time the number of pupils in private schools does not seem excessive. But if the recent upward enrolment trend persists it could become so considerable as to lead to a severe drain on teacher recruitment to the public sector. This implies that the status and conditions of teachers in the public service cannot be allowed to fall too far behind those in the private sector.

Teacher appraisal and the role of the inspectorate

Elsewhere we discuss the wider need for effective monitoring of the education system. Here our concern is solely with the role of inspectors in the appraisal and training of teachers.

The performance of teachers in the classrooms is more regularly and systematically monitored in Turkey than in most other OECD countries. The national inspectorate regularly visits upper secondary schools. Local inspectors visit every primary and lower secondary schools at least once a year. In one province, for example, we learnt that every teacher in the primary schools had been seen by an inspector during the previous year.

The inspectors not only pass judgements on the performance of teachers that can affect their career prospects but also prescribe that a teacher deficient in a particular competence must attend an appropriate INSET course. In addition, they identify general training needs and inform the central planning body accordingly. They also help design and serve as lecturers on many INSET courses.

Our only reservation about this apparently regular and systematic form of teacher evaluation is that it may be more summative than formative, more restrictionist than creative. We would recommend that the inspectorates be used more enterprisingly to identify good practice wherever they find it and to see that successful innovations are widely publicised and replicated throughout the country.

V

POLICY-MAKING, CONTROL, MANAGEMENT, AND RESOURCES

THE MAKING OF POLICY

As pointed out in Chapter I, some of the contemporary objectives of the education system in Turkey continue to correspond to those developed during the Ataturk era. Naturally, the emphases have changed: for example, there is the new stress on technical and vocational training.

Policies for implementing objectives, however, are subject to major modification. The State Planning Office plays a major role since new educational initiatives must be seen to conform with overall economic and social priorities as prescribed in the Five-Year Development Plans. It is the Minister of National Education, Youth and Sports, an *ex officio* member of Cabinet and chairman of a joint inter-ministerial board concerned with education and training matters, who seeks to ensure that the government's broadly expressed intentions for education are reflected in practice.

Within his own domain the Minister of Education exercises formidable powers. He can interpret government guidelines as he thinks best and, through his complete control over senior appointments in the Ministry, ensure that his instructions are obeyed. It is he also who determines the extent to which the Ministry consults and collaborates with other ministries and outside bodies. At the same time, he must seek for amendments to existing laws or the enactment of new laws whenever major reforms are envisaged. In this sense, the national parliament is the ultimate source of authority.

We must also draw attention to the independence from the Minister's jurisdiction enjoyed by YÖK. The implications of this for teacher policies and teacher training were discussed in the previous chapter. There are other implications concerning, for example, the upper secondary curriculum and the national examinations for university entrance. There was a need, perhaps, for giving much power to YÖK when a quick and decisive reform of higher education was initiated. In the long run, however, it may be desirable to reconsider the relationship between the university sector and the Minister of Education.

The examiners gained the impression that policy-making in Turkey is easily enunciated. Ministers of Education do not have to engage in protracted negotiations with teachers' representatives or to gain the support of public opinion, though we understand that the press is devoting increasing space to news about education, and parents are beginning to make their views known about the conduct of their children's schools. The difficulty lies, as in many other countries, particularly those with highly-centralised systems, in translating policies into action and practice. We were told that the Ministry is particularly slow in working towards the

targets set by the national five-year development plans. There are four all too evident constraints: *a)* the nature of the structure, organisation and staffing of the Ministry of Education; *b)* the use of planning capacity; *c)* the inertia characteristic of a system severely controlled from the centre; *d)* the weak links with the external world. We shall take up briefly the first three constraints in the following paragraphs and the fourth constraint in the last chapter.

The Ministry of Education and effective administration

It is no surprise that a Ministry required to service the administration of education in a large country should itself be very large. Largeness is, of course, not necessarily a liability, though it is significant that some Education ministries among OECD countries appear to function effectively with a limited number of personnel. It is a liability, however, if a ministry tries to do everything, if its organisational structure is cumbersome and if its staff are not well trained as administrators and managers.

The Ministry might claim that it does not try to do everything. The examiners can only say that it does try, nevertheless, to do *almost* everything. It has absolute control over the curriculum, the selection and placement of teachers, most school construction, textbooks and supply of equipment. This omnipotence might be acceptable in a very small country but it is surely untenable in a country of great size with still difficult communications in some regions and between regions.

In addition, the structure of the Ministry of Education appears to be complex and cumbersome. Are so many general directorates required? Is there not some duplication of effort? Is it possible to guarantee the effective coordination of plans and activities when so many administrators are concerned?

As to the quality of staffing, the practice, as in several other countries, is to employ teachers, almost exclusively, either on a temporary or permanent basis, teachers themselves being civil servants. Now there is a strong case to be made against the staffing of any ministry of Education by "administrators", exclusively or to a considerable extent. But to rely exclusively on teachers may well be to go to the other equally questionable extreme. Perhaps, in Turkey more "administrators" and at least some planning experts and overall policy analysis specialists should be appointed by the Ministry. In addition, all recruits from the teaching profession should be required to attend an initial intensive course on administration, followed by in-service training courses arranged as new duties are taken up or new procedures introduced.

It might also be advisable to reconsider the practice of replacing virtually all or a good number of senior officials whenever there is a change of Minister. For if a Minister must retain the right to choose some officials in whom he has complete trust and if an occasional replacement of staff or redistribution of senior staff functions helps to counter staleness, too comprehensive a movement of top personnel breaks continuity and entails the replacement of officials who have learnt how to do their jobs by others who must necessarily go through a more or less lengthy learning apprenticeship.

Policy development and planning capacity

The policy development and planning capacity of the Ministry are theoretically strong. The Minister can call upon the advice of the Board of Education, a permanent body whose members are nominated by the Minister and which meets once a week. Among the members

are all the Directors General in the Ministry. The Board has wide powers subject always to the Minister's veto. Although it undoubtedly contains much expertise and can draw, in addition, upon the advice of outside experts, we wonder whether it is sufficiently bold and innovative. Given the nature of its membership, is it not inclined to maintain the *status quo*? Does not the Minister require access to the advice of outsiders that may run counter to prevailing practice and trends?

Within the ministry there is also a planning unit. We wonder, however, whether the appearance of an adequate policy-making apparatus is matched by the reality. How much of the policy development and planning are really forward-looking and inspired? How much really impacts on the daily work of the ministry? How much really contributes to the information upon which the Minister bases decisions? How effective are inter-departmental links? How much planning for systematic curriculum development takes place? Since the examiners can only guess at the answers to these questions, they will take refuge in the suggestion that the Minister might find it profitable to undertake a thorough overhaul of the whole policy development and planning process.

Need for decentralisation

We turn, next, to the thorny issue of centralisation. Everyone in Turkey who has thought at all seriously about educational problems freely acknowledges that the system is very highly centralised. Several of our interlocutors referred to the analogy of the French system. We would also add that under Ataturk and for some time afterwards, the system needed to be under firm central control in order to develop a viable nationwide service. We also suspect that, despite the apparent rigidities, there are not a few local or, at least, provincial initiatives. In this connection, we were struck by the charismatic leadership shown by more than one provincial director whom we encountered as well as by the drive and evident ingenuity in circumventing regulations of certain school principals. The system is far from snuffing out individual enterprise.

Nevertheless, it is top-heavy and principals and teachers are too subject to restrictive rules and guidelines. At a time when several OECD countries with hitherto highly-centralised systems are in the process of devolving certain powers and responsibilities to provincial or regionaladministrations and allowing more scope for what have become known as "school-based initiatives", Turkey might also find it appropriate to galvanise its system by embarking upon a process of decentralisation. One could envisage: a smaller and stream-lined ministry in Ankara, having shed some of its present functions, concentrating on overall policy concerns; the strengthening of provincial and local community administrations; encouragement to schools to assume responsibility for certain expenditures, the choice of textbooks and, last but not least, for experimenting with optional subjects fitted to local needs and complementing the nationally-prescribed core curriculum.

Research and development

Some research is carried out within the Directorates in the Ministry. It is also carried out under the aegis, respectively, of the Planning, Research and Coordination Office and the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey. In addition, the universities play a major role and Turkey has wisely and systematically profited from relevant research undertaken by outside agencies and individual scholars. Thus, Turkey has taken close account of advice given by expert teams employed by the World Bank as well as by experts from

OECD. Indeed, it is worth recalling that in the 1960s Turkey was a particularly active Member of the OECD Mediterranean Regional Project. The upshot is that a reasonable body of research findings has been accumulated and the actual research capacity of the country is considerable given the overall shortage of resources.

What appears weak is development capacity. There seems to be a lack of diagnostic and base-line data. Neither could we readily see that research findings were directly influencing the process of educational reform nor leading to pedagogical innovation in the daily practice of schools. Attention should now be focused, therefore, on the systematic application of research findings.

As indicated above, the examiners also believe that the national and provincial inspectorates should be used to carry out a creative evaluation role. In general, they have the impression that the evaluation made at present is summative, that is, it checks what has been accomplished. It should be used systematically to see where and how improvements can be made and to disseminate research findings that have practical relevance. The Inspectorate may not be the only instrument to be used for this purpose. The Ministry might consider adopting other mechanisms for monitoring the effectiveness of the system and ensuring a constant process of school improvement. For example, the system of national testing could be used not only for testing student achievement but as an instrument of quality control.

FINANCING OF EDUCATION

Recent trends

The volume of public resources currently allocated to educational activities is a cause for concern. Its negative effects cut across all educational levels and have been documented in previous chapters. Table 8 gives the budgetary allocations to the Education Ministry for the years 1975/1986. Although following a somewhat erratic trend the figures reveal a low priority for educational financing, whether taken as a proportion of total public expenditures, which suffered a severe drop up to 1985/86, or as a percentage of GNP, one of the lowest among OECD countries:

Table 8. **Budgetary allocations to education, 1975-1986**

	Ministry of Education budget as % of total budget	Ministry of Education budget as % of GNP
1975	12.3	n.a.
1980	11.0	n.a.
1983	11.2	2.5
1984	10.6	1.9
1985	8.6	2.0
1986	8.7	2.1

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

Even allowing for the fact that other ministries and the YÖK (see Table 9 for aggregate budget figures) contribute to the total public expenditure on education and training activities, the corresponding proportion of GNP allocation would not exceed 3.0 to 3.5 per cent. It is worth noting that by 1986 the education budget had dropped below one half of total defence spending. Table 10 provides comparative data for OECD countries. Table 11 confirms that in the context of Mediterranean and comparable countries Turkey spends a lower proportion of national income on education and training than other countries with comparable development levels.

Table 9. **Higher education budget, 1984-1986**

(TL 1 000)

	1984	1985	1986
Personnel	61 697 497	75 000 000	110 000 000
Other recurrent	21 722 213	24 500 000	37 000 000
Investment	27 036 884	37 712 000	50 486 000
Transfer	7 531 181	14 501 900	25 000 000
Total	117 987 775	151 713 900	222 486 000

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

The decrease in real expenditure, which dramatically handicaps the education sector, has been partially offset by three "compensatory" trends: increasing expenditure on private education; the negotiation of external credits; most importantly, local fund-raising programmes. The recently released figures for the 1987 budget appropriation show that the slump in educational financing may have started to reverse, thereby denoting implementation of a considerable new investment effort.

Investment allocations have been sustained at high annual rates of increase of roughly between 40 and 70 per cent and, therefore, well above inflation indices. Taken as a proportion of the general investment budget, investment in education ranks high in priority, reaching in 1986 a participation rate close to the financial ceilings verified ten years earlier (17 to 18 per cent), after recovering from a low 9.2 per cent in 1980 (Table 12).

These indicators reflect the financial consequences of an expansionist policy that has paid little regard for concomitant recurrent expenditures. Since recurrent budgets fall short of meeting the demands generated by high investment targets, average school inputs and educational standards have dropped when measured by efficiency rates, staff remuneration, supply of consumable classroom supplies or teacher upgrading programmes.

A detailed analysis of the breakdown of recurrent and investment budgets for 1987 (Tables 13 and 14) provides further insight into the financial imbalances:

a) Basic education alone mobilises 57 per cent of the education budget; secondary and technical-vocational education account for 32 per cent.

b) Staff salaries at those levels of education represent 97 and 92 per cent, respectively, of total recurrent expenditures.

Table 10. **Public expenditure on education, 1984**

As % of GDP

	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy
	5.8	6.3 (1983)	6.0	7.0	6.6 (1980)	5.6 (1983)	5.2 (1981)	4.4 (1983)	2.2 (1979)	—	6.1 (1983)	5.6 (1983)
Of which: associated expenditure[a]	0.3	0.3 (1983)	0.4	0.6	0.4 (1980)	1.0	0.5 (1981)	0.3 (1983)	0.4 (1979)	—	—	—

	Japan	Luxembourg	Netherlands	New Zealand	Norway	Portugal	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	United Kingdom	United States
	5.0 (1982)	7.4 (1983)	6.5	4.5	6.7 (1983)	4.6 (1982)	2.6 (1979)	7.8	5.2	2.5	5.3 (1983)	5.8 (1980)
Of which: associated expenditure[a]	0.2 (1982)	—	0.4	0.3	—	0.3 (1982)	0.1 (1979)	0.8	0.1	0.1	—	0.7 (1980)

a) Boarding, catering, transport, medical care, welfare and financial aid to students.
Source: OECD, Educational Data Bank.

Table 11. Indicative education statistics: Turkey, Mediterranean and comparator countries

Country	GNP (US $) (1983)	GNP growth rate % 1973-1982	Population growth rate 1973-1982	Adult literacy % (1976)	Enrolment ratios[a] (1982) Primary	Secondary	Higher	Education expenditure (1982) % total public expenditure	% GNP devoted to education
Mediterranean									
Algeria	2 400	5.6	3.1	35	94	36	5	n.a.	3.8
Egypt	700	9.4	2.6	44	76	54	15	9.2	3.1
Jordan	1 710	11.5	3.4[b]	70	103	77	32	10.4	4.9
Morocco	750	4.7	2.6	28	57[c]	28	6	16.2	6.3
Syria	1 680	8.6	3.5	58	101	51	16	7.1	4.4
Tunisia	1 290	6.6	2.4	62	106	32	5	14.2	7.0
Turkey	1 230	3.6	2.2	73	102	39	6	8.6[a]	3.1
Comparator countries									
Brazil	1 890	5.2	2.3	76	93	32	12	4.6[b]	3.8
Korea (Rep. of)	2 010	7.2	1.6	96	107	89	24	19.5	7.7
Malaysia	1 870	7.4	2.4	60	92	49	5	15.9	5.2
Thailand	810	6.5	2.4	86	96	29	22	20.7	3.4

a) Includes over-age and repeating students.
b) 1985 data.
c) Net enrolment data, 1984.
Sources: *World Development Report 1985; World Bank Atlas 1985; Comparative Education Indicators 1984.*

Table 12. **Investment in education in % of total investment budget, 1975-1986**

1975	17.0
1980	9.2
1983	11.9
1984	12.2
1985	15.4
1986	16.6

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

c) Investment expenditures amount to approximately 17 per cent of total education outlays.

d) The investment allocation between general education (basic and general secondary) and technical-vocational education runs at a ratio of 3:1.

e) In spite of the official policy giving priority to technical-vocational education, investment in general secondary schools (TL18 billion) exceeds the total allocation to the much more expensive technical-vocational schools (TL16 billion).

f) Apprenticeship and non-formal education barely reach 1.5 per cent of the total investment effort.

g) In-service training of teachers lags below the 0.7 per cent figure in investment programmes (around 1 per cent of total education budget).

The structure of recurrent educational expenditure denotes a high rigidity in the system in the face of policy changes. With roughly 380 000 teachers on the Ministry's payroll, any review of teachers' salaries entails a major impact on the budget. On the other hand, there may be room to reinforce strategic areas of quality improvement such as in-service teacher training or the supply of educational materials.

Estimated unit costs for basic education show the lean level of educational inputs (about TL41 000 per year in 1986). Boarding students cost approximately four times more than regular students; again, there seem to exist strong arguments, pedagogic and financial, to expand boarding schools only with caution and to seek alternative schooling models. The general secondary pupil costs around TL62 000, whereas the cost of students in technical-vocational tracks is three to five times as much. The unit cost of university education is about 12 to 15 times that of basic education, a ratio which is certainly high but not unusual in other countries. There is no hard evidence of overspending on university education, especially in the light of the relatively low participation rate (8 per cent) of the population aged 18-22. However, there may be some room for improving efficiency and for releasing financial savings to the benefit of under-resourced areas of the education system.

Policy alternatives

To accommodate educational expansion without further quality deterioration will inevitably impose strong pressures on the budget. In real terms, the educational level of funding would have to grow at 2 to 2.5 per cent per year, accruing to qualitative gains in the

Table 13. **Distribution of funds in draft budget of Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports for 1987 on the bases of programme and type of funds**

(TL 1 000)

Code and name of programme	Personnel	Other recurrent	Total recurrent	Investment[a]	Transfer	Total	Percentage
101. General administrative and supportive services	29 855 333	13 128 100	42 983 433	14 365 000	24 000	57 372 433	6.1
111. Realisation and development of basic education services	414 536 228	14 312 800	428 849 028	88 275 000	7 495 000	524 619 028	56.5
112. Realisation and development of general, vocational and technical secondary schools	210 962 601	19 574 300	230 538 901	51 199 000	15 507 500	297 243 401	32.0
113. Adult education and apprenticeship	31 820 790	2 519 800	34 340 590	2 565 000	86 000	36 991 590	4.0
114. External relations and education abroad	2 149 790	690 300	2 840 090	—	1 217 000	4 057 090	0.5
115. Realisation and development of youth and physical education	675 258	1 174 700	1 849 958	800 000	74 000	2 723 958	0.3
900. Transfers which are not distributed to the service programmes	—	—	—	—	5 596 500	5 590 500	0.6
Total	90 000 000	51 400 000	741 400 000	137 204 000	30 000 000	928 604 000	100
In percent	74.3	5.5	79.8	16.9	3.3	100	

a) Investments of generalisation funds are included.
Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

Table 14. **Investment funds for 1987**

Million TL

Sector and related department	Study project	Purchase of vehicles	Machinery and equipment	Building and facilities	Total	Generalisation funds
Education	**310**	**325**	**9895**	**118640**	**129170**	**18500**
General education	*60*	*225*	*3705*	*93510*	*97500*	*15000*
General directorate of primary education	—	225	1805	74970	77000	8800
Department for special education and guidance	60	—	400	2040	2500	200
General directorate of secondary education	—	—	1500	16500	18000	6000
Vocational and technical education	*250*	*100*	*6190*	*25130*	*31670*	*3500*
General directorate of technical education for men	—	—	1000	10717	11717	1350
General directorate of technical education for girls	50	—	800	3665	4515	500
Department of commerce and tourism education	—	—	250	3747	3997	500
General directorate for religious education	—	—	500	3620	4120	500
General directorate of apprenticeship and non-formal education	50	—	250	1765	2065	500
Department of educational aids and supplies	—	100	2290	630	3020	150
Department of inservice training	100	—	600	200	900	—
Department of publication	—	—	—	200	200	—
Department of administrative and financial affairs	—	—	500	500	1000	—
Department of operations	50	—	—	86	136	—
Sports						
General directorate of youth, physical education and sports	20	—	50	430	500	300
Housing						
Department of investment and building facilities	—	—	—	7409	7409	900
General administration						
Department of administrative and financial affairs	—	115	—	110	225	—
Health	—	**60**	**70**	**70**	**200**	—
Department of health affairs	—	48	50	20	118	—
Validebag	—	12	20	50	82	—
Total		500	10015	126659	137504	19700

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

system. Minimal elbow room will have to be found in the recurrent budgets to meet a set of pressing changes:

a) revised teachers' salaries and restructured career patterns;
b) premiums to be awarded on merit or as a means of attracting teachers to hardship posts;
c) teacher upgrading and professional support services;
d) quality improvements in regular school supplies;
e) curriculum support activities, mainly to implement development and consolidation of the universal middle school;
f) local experimentation and positive discrimination policies favouring poorer regions and specially deprived groups.

The government is currently considering the introduction of cost-recovery measures to alleviate the burden on the education budget. Some precedents exist, although of a different scale or nature:

- tuition fees collected by private Anadolou schools (running at present between TL400 000 and 600 000 per year);
- fee collection at universities (TL40 000 to 100 000 per year, covering roughly 7 per cent of the real cost);
- Open University fees for the teacher-upgrading programme (TL10 000 per year).

The principle may be sound and appear financially attractive but its implementation touches on a deep-rooted cultural belief, namely, that education is a public or quasi-public good and should be offered free of charge by the State. It would be wise for the Ministry to run affordability surveys before starting the scheme and to link cost-recovery mechanisms to income brackets in order to pursue equity goals and broaden – not limit – the economic accessibility to education.

Cutting down on wasteful expenditures has been recommended in several passages of this report. Achieving this goal requires a solid planning capacity, sound management structures, competent and motivated managers and improved cost assessment measures.

Private education is likely to grow, particularly in urban environments. Provision by private initiative should be encouraged, subject to quality control exercised by the appropriate bodies (inspectorate, local education authorities, national examinations), and even supported if it is non-profit-making and serves without restriction the public interest in education. This is an area requiring closer attention by the authorities and possibly a clearer set of rules.

Revolving funds are widely used to manage school-related income in technical-vocational schools. The system merits stronger support both in the form of technical assistance to encourage the carry-over to other schools and to increase its effectiveness through measures to strengthen initial capital endowments, and to ensure that all profits remain within the education system rather than being partially remitted to the Treasury.

Finally, the examiners believe it feasible and desirable to increase the flows of external aid to support education development in Turkey, provided that the country matches such cooperative programmes with evidence of domestic efforts to raise the ceilings for education budgets. The education sector must be regarded as a top priority in the modernisation strategy being carried out. Investments in the qualitative advancement of abundant human resources can yield the highest returns to the Turkish nation at the turn of the century, both in fostering economic progress and related well-being and in providing the foundations for socio-cultural consolidation and the emergence of enduring democratic institutions.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

Status

Preceding chapters have described the general feeling of physical comfort experienced in Turkish educational institutions. Most of the schools that we saw had bright and functional classrooms, good courtyards and playgrounds, ample workshops and laboratories, large administrative wings and adequate cafeterias. Circulation space is seldom a problem; equipment and furniture are normally of a standard design and appropriately allocated, with the exception of three shortcomings:

a) lack of regular consumable classroom supplies and shortage of simple crafts or workshops materials;

b) scarcity of learning aids for life- or work-oriented activities in basic (grades 1 to 8) schools; this problem will be exacerbated with the introduction of the new curriculum, particularly in rural areas (simple farm implements, demonstration kits, consumable supplies);

c) rigidity of classroom furniture in basic schools (tables, desks, chairs) making it often impossible to assimilate non-traditional teaching arrangements (group work, aquarium, role-playing, participatory dramatisation).

The overall level of school maintenance is satisfactory, although in some heavily utilised urban facilities there are signs of physical fatigue. Some small village schools also need better maintenance; we were told that required action is often delayed several months. Principals seem to play a key role in upstaging the bureaucracy simply by raising private local funding and taking the initiative in arranging for small repairs and urgent maintenance works where local conditions permit.

The examiners observed some degree of wasteful design which carries serious implications for investment costs[1] and construction delays[2]. Since prototype designs and construction systems depend heavily on centralised norms, the over-design flaw can be seen replicated throughout the country. In some intermediate rural areas and in remote villages the examiners witnessed the emergence of underutilisation due to depopulation phenomena; many provincial directors report the closing-down of village schools.

The institutional setting for school construction in Turkey is more complex than the usual arrangement prevalent in OECD countries. A gross approximation identifies the following sequence of actors:

i) *Provinces* (directors of education) – conduct multi-annual and yearly needs assessment.

ii) *Ministry of Education* – appraises provincial proposals, consolidates and submits investment plans (5 years) and yearly budgets, prepares country-wide school-location planning; procures and distributes school equipment and furniture.

iii) *State Planning Department* – prepares medium-term development plans, 5-year investment ceilings and annual budgets for approval by the Cabinet and Parliament.

iv) *Ministry of Public Works* – prepares master plans and prototype designs, supervises tendering procedures for elementary and middle schools building, tenders and awards contract for general *Lises* and technical-vocational school building, exercises overall construction quality control, executes major conservation works.

v) *Province* – builds centrally-funded elementary and middle schools through local competitive bidding or force-account with community participation and constructs all school buildings financed through privately-raised funding; local manufacture of school furniture.

vi) *Municipality* – secures sites in town planning exercises and usually provide site development works.

Clearly, this is a top-heavy bureaucratic structure not calculated to produce effective results.

The financial allocation for school facilities is included in the Ministry of Education's annual budget. Government funding has progressed according to the figures given in Table 15:

Table 15. **Government funding for schools**

Fiscal year	Investment allocation (billions TL)	Nominal increase %
1983	35.9	
1984	49.9	38
1985	66.3	38
1986	94.1	41
1987	157.2	67

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ankara.

Private contributions for educational investments are estimated at about TL50-60 billions for 1986 and TL80-90 billions for 1987, that is, about a 50 per cent addition to public investment funds.

Unit costs of school construction run currently at TL80 000 to 100 000. Community-built schools – local labour plus free constructions materials supplied by government – may reduce unit costs to TL50 000-60 000.

Policy issues and challenges

Two formidable challenges to be met during the next ten/years will require the mobilisation of enormous energies and resources: the accomplishment of a universal 8-grade basic education and the concomitant diversification of upper secondary education with emphasis on the technical-vocational branch (expected 60 per cent of enrolments).

The examiners would recommend:

i) undertaking an accurate school mapping exercise as a fundamental tool of policy design;

ii) applying the nuclearisation principle as a possible rationale for improving networking in the basic education school system;

iii) better sharing of educational equipment and facilities (multi-purpose) in order to increase utilisation and relieve demands on investment;

iv) moving towards functional but cheaper school design, capable of lowering unit costs without dropping below threshold quality standards;

v) using more economic construction systems and methods, for example phased or modular prototypes, heavy or light prefabrication, bulk procurement, further community participation;

vi) standardizing school furniture and equipment;

vii) implementing multi-annual school facilities programmes within firm financial commitments in medium-term plans;

viii) streamlining management procedures and clarifying the institutional network.

This last condition merits a detailed focus. Indeed, the present organisation for school construction, equipment and maintenance appears overcentralised and unnecessarily complex.

The examiners would begin by advancing the notion of further devolution in the context of a comprehensive reform of educational management. The accumulated experience at provincial and local levels of administration shows that basic education schools are built faster, better and more cheaply locally than by centralised intervention. *Devolution* would imply:

- granting larger responsibility to municipalities and local communities for the provision of pre-school and basic education facilities;
- a better partnership between school-building and city-planning organisations to secure sites for educational institutions under settlement/dwellings development and urban planning;
- transferring broader responsibilities at all levels of education to provinces both for school construction and purchasing equipment/furniture as well as for maintenance;
- decentralising investment budgets without relaxing central coordination;
- strengthening provincial directorates in technical skills as school-mapping and location, design development, procurement procedures, cost control, civil works supervision and maintenance management;
- strengthening central institutions with a view to their playing an effective role in norms and standards design, investment planning, and in offering assistance.

The examiners also noted the need to merge into one central institution responsibilities that are now spread over several agencies. In particular, and in the light of devolving executive functions, it now seems entirely feasible to speed up the transfer of responsibilities still held by the Ministry of Public Works to the counterpart Education Department. The experiment under way since 1984 whereby education carries the full range of school construction supervision tasks for four provinces – Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Konya – is encouraging. With this move Turkey would also adopt an institutional pattern common to other OECD countries.

In commanding both budget and technical support services the Ministry of Education would be in an excellent position to initiate a selective decentralisation movement favouring the immediate devolution to areas demonstrating adequate institutional capabilities, in the form of block grant transfers against satisfactory programme submissions, while reinforcing weaker localities.

To play an effective leading role the School Building Department of the Ministry of Education will have itself to undergo adequate reform in the light of enhanced planning and

coordination responsibilities. Specific attention will have to be devoted to standard prototype plans and designs in order to minimise cost over-runs associated with traditionally large schools and speed-up construction periods – new buildings, major refurbishing or regular maintenance operations. Setting appropriate building norms and reducing high ceilings or wide corridors can also lower the costs of heating, cleaning and lighting and general maintenance.

NOTES

1. As an illustration a TL 2 billion figure for a technical-vocational school under construction in Bursa for 2 000 students seems expensive in the Turkish context.
2. Secondary schools visited reportedly took over 5 years to build.

VI

THE EDUCATIVE COMMUNITY

The previous chapters contain analyses both of the needs of the Turkish education system and of the resources required in the 1990s. The general conclusion is evident: it will be difficult to meet these needs if a linear projection is applied to the present plans for educational investment and recurrent expenditure. The short-fall in economic growth rates, coupled with the exponential growth of demand, are likely to reduce the efficiency of even those sectors of the education system such as basic education which are at present functioning moderately well.

The most serious problems arise in the post-primary areas, the middle and upper secondary schools, and in the area of initial and continuing vocational education and training. They arise because of a basic mismatch between the rising expectations of the population and the capability of the community to fulfil them. The expectations are induced by the process of modernisation, the promises of competing political parties and the access of a wider section of the population to the mass media, especially television, which illustrate the fruits of economic growth rather than the means of attaining such growth.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The central expectation which cannot be met is full employment. There is, in Turkey, no tradition of full employment in the modern sense. There is an important tradition of autarchy in the extended family, which ensured that most citizens were provided for, and in return provided such labour as the extended family required. This pattern of a rural subsistence economy, widespread in the Mediterranean basin as elsewhere, is being eroded by the modernisation of the economy. Modernisation brings with it industrialisation and urbanisation. It is in the urban setting, where the fall-back resources of the extended family are lacking, that unemployment becomes a crucial factor in a country's socio-economic policy. In order to avoid rural depopulation through the drift to the cities, measures have also to be taken to make life in the rural areas more acceptable. According to the Five-Year Plan 1984-89 the change of employment by sectors will be in Table 16.

Table 16. **Sectoral employment 1984 to 1989**

Workers in millions

	1984		1989	
	Total	%	Total	%
Agriculture	9.4	59.9	9.4	54.7
Industry	2.0	12.7	2.4	13.9
Services (including construction)	4.3	27.4	5.4	31.4
Total	15.7	100.0	17.2	100.0

Source: Fifth 5-Year Development Plan 1984-1989, Table 87.

The agricultural sector

Since agriculture will continue to engage more than half the population, the opportunities to derive a worthwhile income from work in this sector will remain an important indicator of Turkey's standard of living. For this reason education and training in and for rural areas are an essential aspect of the educational provision. Although schools in rural areas are provided by the Ministry of Education, training for agriculture is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture. For the effective use of the limited resources available it is clearly essential that there should be close consultation between the two ministries responsible. Two references to training for this vast sector of the Turkish economy are contained in the Five-Year Plan. In the chapter on *Agriculture* it is proposed that "An effective training and extension system will be devised so as to provide the manpower necessary for agricultural mechanisation, equipment, reinforcing the mechanisation training centres in such a way as to discharge these functions. When providing support to industries which manufacture agricultural equipment and machinery, the conformity of production types to regional requirements and agricultural developments will be adopted as a basic principle." [Development Plan 1985-89, p. 56, para. 238(8)].

The chapter on *Education* indicates that: "For the purpose of providing job opportunities in their own locality to the disguised unemployed in agriculture, short-term training courses will be delivered to 150/000 people in rural areas to provide them with occupational knowledge and skills that would be useful in their environment." (Development Plan 1985-89, p. 161, para. 555).

The latter reference does not indicate whether the provision proposed will be made in the context of the Adult Education Service, for the co-ordination of which the Ministry of Education is responsible. It is evident that short courses for 150 000 people over five years or 30 000 per year for an agricultural sector employing 9.4 million people are unlikely to make a significant impact on the ability of the seasonally unemployed to find alternative occupations. By the same token to improve the practical training of manpower for agricultural mechanisation is essential. It is not, however, indicated whether this training will be carried out in vocational high schools, or in Apprentice Training Centres or Adult Education Centres, or if not there, where it will be done. These two examples illustrate the urgent need for an integrative approach to the meeting of Turkey's educational and training needs in order to ensure the optimal use of scarce resources.

The industrial sector

Employment in the industrial sector is expected to increase from 2.0 million in 1984 to 2.4 million in 1989, and to form 13.9 per cent of the labour force in that year. From what the examiners were told it is evident that the attention of the education system is being concentrated on this sector and, to some extent, the service sector. Since the industrial sector is a major creator of added value and is generally regarded as an important indicator of modernisation, it is right that this should be so. In Chapter III the examiners describe the reform of the apprenticeship system under the terms of the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act 1986, as well as the introduction of a dual system in the vocational *Lises*. They also note the intention to increase the proportion of pupils in the latter at the expense of the numbers educated in the general *Lises*. The difficulties standing in the way of the realisation of these plans are referred to.

The sophisticated management problems associated with this more flexible and practice-oriented approach to vocational training at the secondary school level require for their solution close consultation and co-operation with the industrial partners in the dual system. The examiners were concerned to find that this consultation is as yet not universal. They were informed by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, for example, which must be one of the most important in the country, that it had not yet been involved in the consultation process. Nor did the examiners receive any evidence of effective consultation with the trade unions on the developments in vocational training envisaged by the government. Given the delicate issues of the determination of skill levels and of wage rates, most OECD countries find the establishment of consultation arrangement with the social partners an essential ingredient of orderly progress in the field of national education and training.

The service sector

Compared with the emphasis on the manufacturing sector the potential of the service sector appears as yet to be insufficiently explored. The expected increase in employment in this sector, 1.1 million workers between 1984 and 1989, is much the larger of the two sectors. Banking, insurance and related activities are growing in importance. The most promising element in this sector, given Turkey's climatic conditions, scenic beauty and archaeological and historic interest, appears to be the tourist industry and its related activities. The Development Plan proposes to increase hotel accommodation by just over 50 per cent from 62 000 to 100 000 by 1989 so as to meet the needs of an increase in incoming tourists from 1 million in 1984 to 3 million in 1989. This expected increase is not, however, reflected in the manpower target of the Fifth Plan. There is reference to the need for more graduate veterinary surgeons, doctors, dentists and lawyers as well as for people working in the Natural, Human and Social Sciences, the Fine Arts and Education (Development Plan 1985-89, Table 91, p. 152). But apparently the commercial and tourist elements of the service sector require no additional manpower at a graduate level of education.

The 200 commercial schools and 10 tourism schools at secondary level include 4 evening *Lises*, 8 Anadolou *Lises* working in English and German, 4 hotel schools and 4 secretarial schools. It is not evident that this provision is adequate. Although all schools are co-educational, girls predominate in the schools connected with tourism (there is also one hotel management course at university level at Hacettepe University, Ankara).

This brief review of Turkey's anticipated labour force requirements and of the education and training provision proposed to meet them shows that there is a reasonable element of concordance between the one and the other, but that certain important mismatches remain, particularly in agriculture and the service sector.

LIFELONG EDUCATION

As we have seen, the principle of lifelong education is fully accepted in Turkey. The current Development Plan affirms that "Education will be acknowledged as a continual progress from cradle to grave." (p. 157, para. 532). In many respects education throughout the lifespan is an ingredient of the traditional lifestyle of the extended family in Turkey, where learning proceeded on a functional basis in accordance with the existential needs of the family and the local community.

Owing to the absence of any comprehensive statistical or operational information, it is difficult to arrive at a reliable estimate of the contribution which adult education makes to the national educational effort as a whole. The examiners recommend that this sector of educational provision, whose unit cost is likely to be well below that of the more formal sectors of education, should be identified more clearly. This would permit its contribution to the whole to be better orientated towards the educational objectives which the government is trying to reach. With the help of UNESCO the Turkish authorities have established an Adult Education Institute whose task is to undertake research and to develop programmes in this field. It is suggested that the Institute and the adult education departments in the Ankara and Bosphorus Universities should be charged with the preparation of the inventory of adult education activities previously cited.

Distance education

An ingredient of the education system which is growing in importance is distance education. This is provided by three distinct organisational units:

a) Distance Teaching Unit, Directorate-General for Apprenticeship and Adult Education;
b) Open University, Anadolou University, Eskeshehir;
c) TRT Department of Educational Programmes. (Turkish Radio and Television played an important part in the literacy campaigns of the early 1980s. As a result of their success TRT has now been able to discontinue these).

The Distance Teaching Unit of the Directorate-General for Apprenticeship and Adult Education operates the theoretical content of the apprenticeship in electrical trades. It covers three years and leads to the Master's Certificate in the subject. In 1985 about 15 000 apprentices were said to be enrolled on one or another of the three yearly courses. If the experience with electricians' courses proves successful, distance education is expected to be extended to other subjects.

The Open University at Eskeshehir, whose role in teacher training was described in Chapter IV, is accessible to all high school graduates who cannot obtain places at a

conventional university. Most of the work is done by correspondence, but there are also television courses. These are transmitted by Turkish radio and television every day between 15.00 and 19.00 hours. Video cassettes are also made available and are used in schools, particularly for language courses. Tutorial supervision is provided by universities near to the students' home.

Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) has a Department for Educational Programmes which transmits 10 hours of radio programmes a week for primary and secondary schools from September to July. Five hours of programmes are transmitted in the mornings and repeated in the afternoons for the sake of schools operating a two-shift system. Productions are made jointly by staff of the Ministry of Education and of TRT.

With the opening of a second television channel on 6th October 1986 TRT were looking forward to the launching of educational television programmes. In the medium term a third programme is to be introduced entirely devoted to educational and cultural programmes.

THE INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

The examiners, as has already been emphasized, were impressed by the efforts made by Turkey to develop its education system. Given the country's limited resources, the standard achieved across a large country appears to be generally satisfactory. The evidence of a long tradition of education as an instrument for the training of leadership groups in Turkish society is there for all to see.

The examiners were pleased to note evidence also of a new approach to education as an instrument of democratic development accessible to all. This seems to be the approach which could usefully dominate the next decade of educational development in Turkey. Access to higher secondary and post-secondary education can no longer be confined to those destined for leadership in the country. If Turkey is to prosper, education must become an activity of the nation as a whole, supported and enjoyed by all citizens.

Such a development puts heavy strains on a highly-centralised system. Both on operational grounds and for reasons of social policy, a move towards decentralisation is recommended. The local/central division of cost can now become a local/central sharing of responsibility, central government reserving to itself only the important matters of national policy, such as national examinations and the certification of teachers' qualifications. Large areas which are now administered directly by central government could then be devolved to regional and local authorities so as to optimise their capacity for taking initiative and responsibility for education in their areas. The schools could also assume more functions under the leadership of parents and representatives of the local communities as well as principals and school staffs.

The devolution of educational responsibility would encourage increased contact between local educational interest and business and industry at that level. Evidence given to the examiners suggests that there is much room for improvement in the relation between local employers, trade unions and schools with a view to improving the match between what is taught in them and the labour market. The placing of responsibility on the local community would encourage employers and workers to take an active interest in the education and training of the new generation of workers. It would avoid a mismatch between schools and the employment opportunities available locally.

The relations between schools and parents, which are already close at the elementary school level, especially in rural areas, also need strengthening at the lower and upper secondary levels. This becomes all the more important as secondary education expands and an increasing number of students face learning difficulties and the problem of how to make a sound choice of career.

The devolution of responsibility would also encourage the fuller use of schools for a variety of non-school uses. They could be used for adult education, for local cultural activities, for youth clubs and for opportunities of lifelong learning by older people. The school would be seen as an asset not only for children but for the whole community. The model of the "community college" has in a number of OECD countries proved its worth in maximising the use of costly educational capital investment.

It seems that the future development of education in Turkey lies in this direction. On economic grounds it ensures that capital investment is fully used; on educational grounds it creates a climate in which all are willing to learn, not only the young; it provides the framework for a system of recurrent education that makes possible realisation of the goal of lifelong learning for all.

Part Two

RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

(Paris, 2nd June 1987)

Introduction

The meeting was opened by the *Chairman, Mr. J.A. Ross*, New Zealand, who invited the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports, to bring the Education Committee up to date on developments since the examiners' visit. The *Minister* dwelt first of all on his concern about the many school-leavers who could not obtain their first employment. He had great expectations of the new apprenticeship act that would be discussed thoroughly later on in the proceedings.

Secondary education was a critically important sector. Several major reforms were under way and further reforms were under consideration. Special measures had been taken to improve the conditions for teachers, including a large salary increase and the provision of more housing at nominal rents. Although the national literacy rate had already attained 85 per cent he was determined to intensify the drive against adult illiteracy. He was equally determined to increase the use in schools and non-formal education of new educational technology. Finally, he wished to point out that the present review of its education policies testified to the importance that Turkey attached to international cooperation.

I

POLICY-MAKING, CONTROL, MANAGEMENT AND RESOURCES

Question 1

The examiners have pointed out that Turkey is embarked upon a set of major reforms affecting every part of the education system and commented upon existing policies and priorities, as they understand them. Do the authorities foresee other reorientations of educational policies and reordering of priorities in the immediate and medium-term perspective? If so, what are they?

Question 2

To what extent does the formulation and implementation of educational policy take into account economic, labour market and social policies? What machinery exists or is foreseen for co-ordinating educational policies with the policies of other government departments? Is there any specific plan to rationalise the school building programme?

Question 3

Turkey is sustaining the expansion of all levels of education. How do the authorities propose to ensure that quantitative expansion does not lead to significant qualitative decline and increasing regional imbalances? Will the necessary financing be available? Will they be able to improve the utilisation of their resources – material and human – so as to maintain an effective education service throughout the country?

Question 4

There is a trend in OECD countries with highly centralised education systems to devolve powers and responsibilities to the regional and local levels in order to adapt educational provision to local needs and to motivate those immediately responsible to take more initiative. Do the Turkish authorities consider these objectives relevant to their circumstances?

Question 5

The Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports is very large and complex and staffed almost exclusively by former teachers. Has there been any systematic evaluation of its effectiveness? Are there any plans to reform its structure and to improve the managerial and administrative capacity of its personnel?

Question 6

What is the role assigned to research and development in the planning and implementation of major educational reforms? Is there a significant body of educational research under way or do the authorities see a need for enlarging and generally reinforcing research and development capacity?

Question 7

What instruments exist for monitoring the effectiveness of the education system? Are these considered adequate or are they undergoing modification?

On behalf of the examiners Professor *E.G. Wedell* began by pointing to the need for closer consultation and collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the State Planning Office and between the Ministry and the Higher Education Council. It appeared that the Ministry was somewhat slow in reaching the targets set in the five-year national plans.

A major concern was the organisation and management of the Ministry of Education itself, which was by far the largest employer in Turkey. It was desirable for personnel at all levels to assume greater responsibility, and for some powers and duties to be decentralised to the provinces and districts. Educational expenditure was still too low. Building standards were high, though in certain schools some space appeared to be wasted. An overriding priority was education for the labour market. Here it was important not to neglect the training needs of the more than 50 per cent of the population working on the land. Could not the potential of distance education be still further exploited? He hoped that in his response the Minister would comment particularly on the issues of co-ordination with other ministries and agencies, the efficiency of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, and the machinery for monitoring the education system as a whole.

The *Minister* replied that there was close collaboration between his Ministry and the State Planning Board. As to co-ordination with other ministries, it could be improved but was already strong, especially with the ministries of Agriculture, Health and Labour. There was also close collaboration with the Higher Education Council. He agreed that his Ministry was vast and complex and that it faced many problems. Seventy per cent of the staff were teachers. It was difficult to control and manage a nationwide system from a single centre and so a process of decentralisation was beginning. Responsibility for school buildings, for example, would be taken on by the local authorities. If the examiners were to visit Turkey in five years' time they would find the Ministry less big than it was today. Decentralisation would help to improve quality control and the overall efficiency of the system.

The Minister concurred that education for the labour market was of crucial importance. Agricultural education and training did require improvement and much had yet to be done to develop training facilities for the service sector.

The *delegate of Portugal* wished to know how much the planning section in the Ministry positively contributed to research and development. The *United Kingdom delegate*, noting that

many of the issues raised by the examiners echoed chords in his own country, inquired what the case was for controlling and administering higher education separately. Should not the several cycles of education be administered as an integrated whole? The *delegate of Italy* wished to know what were the specific mechanics of co-ordination between the Ministry and the Higher Education Council.

The *Irish delegate* inquired about the status and role of inspectors. The *delegate of Greece* asked what role was played by teachers' unions. In his country it had proved difficult to decentralise simply because people were unaccustomed to excercising independence. Regarding independence, he believed that educational research should be conducted in autonomous centres. The *delegate of France* speculated that in view of the different levels of economic development among the regions, decentralisation might accentuate rather than diminish inequalities. *Mr. Gass* (OECD Secretariat), pointing out that Turkey had been heavily involved in the Mediterranean Regional Project with its strong emphasis on planning, asked whether, today, a liberal, open-market economy could be reconciled with a strategy of planning fixed targets.

Mr. Kivanc (Turkey) first dealt with the questions concerning planning capacity and reform strategies. Considerable importance was attached to planning within the Ministry of Education with a view to attaining the targets laid down in the five-year plans. The present intention was to recruit thirty specialists to reinforce existing planning capacity. Turning to the issue of co-ordination with the Higher Education Council, he confirmed that close links existed. There had been close consultation, for example, over the reform of upper secondary education. As to inspectors, they enjoyed considerable status and a large measure of professional autonomy. They had the power, for instance, to dismiss teachers for incompetence. Replying to the questions of the *Greek delegate*, *Mr. Kivanc* was glad to note that Turkey and Greece share some common educational experiences. Teachers' unions did not exist in Turkey since teachers were civil servants who had not the right to strike. There was regular consultation, however, between the Ministry and teachers. Consultation also took place with parents' associations. The Ministry contracted many research inquiries to university departments, and these operated free from political control.

II

BASIC EDUCATION FOR ALL

Question 8

Turkey is committed to the retention of small rural schools and hence to the practice of teachers coping with multigrade classes. How do the authorities take account of the special needs of such schools in the way they are staffed and organised and in the methods of instruction that are used?

Question 9

Teaching in the primary and lower secondary schools tends to be authoritarian and didactic. This partly reflects the centrally-controlled and overloaded curriculum. Are there any plans to encourage the modification of teaching styles and to allow local initiative in the design of the curriculum and choice of textbooks and learning aids?

Question 10

The lower secondary school is generally regarded as a highly problematic sector of the school system. This is mainly because of the generalisation of education for the sixth to eighth years. What other problems are there and how are they being addressed?

Question 11

The examiners were informed that the Turkish authorities perceive the importance of pre-schooling but lack the resources to provide facilities for it on a large scale. The examiners would still be interested to know what the priorities are in this area and whether any significant developments are taking place?

Question 12

Like many OECD countries today Turkey must satisfy the learning needs of different social and cultural groups and of the mentally and physically handicapped. It must also ensure equitable learning opportunities for girls and women. Are any special strategies being applied to serve the needs of these groups?

Question 13

The authorities are greatly concerned about the education of Turkish children attending schools in other countries. They also have to face the difficulty, increasingly, of assisting children who have lived abroad to adapt to the domestic school system. What are the authorities' main priorities in addressing the problem of these mobile children?

Mr. R. Carneiro (examiner) began by remarking that Turkey was one of the rare OECD countries where the population was still increasing. This put a tremendous strain on the compulsory school sector. At present, the average number of years spent in school was 5.1 as against 6.8 for the other less developed OECD countries and 10 years for those that were more advanced industrially. Rapid expansion was required as quality was simultaneously improved. As he saw it, there were two dominant concerns: *i)* the need for strategic pedagogical reforms; *ii)* the provision of more resources, and in general more efficient use of resources.

Mr. Carneiro identified six specific areas of interest: *i)* the reform of lower secondary education; *ii)* the heavy curriculum load – 34-38 periods per week and 14 to 16 subjects; perhaps a core curriculum and a longer school year should be contemplated; *iii)* the need for greater diversity and more participation in decision-making and management; *iv)* the shortage of school supplies; *v)* the role of multigrade schools; *vi)* the up-grading of teaching skills, especially to deal with numeracy and literacy. As to resources, he believed that municipalities and local communities should be encouraged to contribute more, that there should be closer collaboration with other agencies, and that better school mapping would ensure more efficient use of buildings.

In reply, *the Minister* spoke of the difficulty of reducing the number of rural schools in view of the constitutional requirement to maintain schools wherever parents expressed a desire to retain them. As already stated, he was in favour of decentralisation but it must not be allowed to exacerbate existing regional inequalities. However, curriculum planning was to be decentralised. He agreed about the necessity of deploying resources more efficiently.

The *delegate of Belgium* commented that, despite its known importance for a child's future educational achievement, there was very little reference in the report to pre-school provision. Was it not essential to expand this sector with all due speed? He also wished to stress that there was no convincing research evidence to prove that single-grade schools were more effective than multi-grade ones. At the same time, was enough being done to serve the needs of the academically gifted in rural areas? Were teachers in rural areas sufficiently qualified?

The *delegate of Austria* asked what was being done to counter the effects of the abolition of the traditional Arabic script. In particular, had not this reduced the accessibility of the national literary heritage? For his part, the *delegate of Yugoslavia* wished to know how education was contributing to the preservation of the national identity while still respecting "cultural specificity".

The *delegate of Germany* said that in his country much was being done to provide for the educational needs of children belonging to Turkish families. What special measures had been adopted within Turkey to serve the needs of returning children? For example, what use was being made of their acquired knowledge and skills. Were they enabled to retain, for instance, their command of the German language? The *delegate of Greece* wondered whether the reference in the examiners' report to the wearing of school uniforms might reflect too much uniformity in general.

In reply, the *Minister of Education* concurred that the provision for pre-schooling was much too low but said that it would certainly be increasing. At present, there was a shortage of

accommodation and suitably trained staff. As for multigrade schools, he believed they could be very successful but he had to face the reality that most parents dit not like them in the belief that they offered an inadequate education. It was certainly true that their effectiveness could be improved by the use of new teaching aids such as video recorders. As to preserving the national literary heritage, all the classical texts had been translated in to modern Turkish. Aside from translators in the universities, there were language specialists within the Ministry of Education who dealt with textbook needs. New special schools had been established for handicapped children but in this area, too, there was a lack of specially trained teachers. The wearing of school uniforms should not be taken as a sign of general uniformity and had never been controversial. The reason for it was to ensure that children from poorer families should be dressed like their peers.

III

ALTERNATIVE ROUTES TO WORK AND POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Question 14

Many OECD countries are at present wrestling with the structure of upper secondary education and training. Some countries have adopted a single system, that is, a unified high school. For what reasons has Turkey chosen a diversified system with distinctive routes of vocational and technical education and training?

Question 15

Turkey is not alone among OECD countries in wanting to attract more students into the technical/vocational branch of upper secondary education and, indeed, its declared aim is to attract 60 per cent of the age group in school to that branch as soon as possible. To that end what inducements will it offer? How does it propose to alter the preference of pupils, parents and many employers for the academic track? Are the schools properly equipped to give students good advice about their choice of careers?

Question 16

The examiners have identified the teaching of foreign languages as a major problem in secondary schools and have made some tentative suggestions for making it more effective. What do the authorities think of these suggestions and do they have other plans for tackling the problem?

Question 17

Turkey is developing two "dual systems" of vocational education and training, combining training in the firm with theoretical learning, and the apprenticeship system and vocational education at the upper secondary level. What are the respective rationales behind these two routes and is there a strategy regarding the relationship between them in the long term?

Question 18

As enterprises become learning settings of increasing importance, what will be the roles of employers and unions in the development of education and training? In what ways will they participate in the decision-making process and what will be their responsibilities in implementing the new policies?

Question 19

Enrolments in private schools appear to be sharply on the increase. What are the reasons for this? What is the policy of the authorities towards private schools and how can the competitiveness of public schools be strengthened?

Question 20

The pressure on young people to gain entrance to university is great and the Lises *in general plainly give top priority to preparing their students for the competitive entrance examination. Yet more than two-thirds of applicants fail to gain admission. What curricular and other measures are being considered to provide alternatives to university education for high-school-leavers?*

Question 21

Having achieved great success in overcoming the problem of illiteracy, what are the government's main priorities today in the field of adult education? What are the main constraints on its development and how are they being tackled?

Mr. K. Brenner (examiner) stated that the upper secondary education and training sector was in a state of flux and distinctly problematic. There were three categories of young people with special needs at this level: *i)* those who left school at the end of the elementary cycle (i.e. after five years); *ii)* those who left during the middle of lower secondary school cycle; *iii)* those who left the school system at the end of the lower secondary cycle. Two developments were noteworthy. First, the expansion and reform of the long-established apprenticeship system. Secondly, the courageous decision to construct what were in effect two parallel dual systems.

Mr. Brenner then referred to the necessity of raising the quality of the provision at this level. The most urgent requirement was for many more competent vocational and technical trainers in schools and enterprises. The general *Lises* were confined to a one-way academic track and must offer more options in the future. All in all, the demand for post-school education and training far exceeded the supply. In his view there were three principal questions to be addressed: *i)* How best to use scarce resources? To expand basic education for all or to develop vocational training? *ii)* How to bring about really effective co-ordination among social planners at all levels; *iii)* How to increase the relevance of the curriculum in the general *Lises* so that they could compete with the Anadolou and private schools?

Responding *the Minister* agreed that technical and vocational education must be made more efficient. The bridges between school and work must be strengthened. Vocational

guidance was to be developed from the end of the eighth year. Young people must be kept from one-way tracks and allowed to satisfy their personal wishes and aptitudes. Many more must be offered education and training after completing their basic education. Links between the schols and enterprises were being developed at all levels. Employers, workers and master craftsmen were represented on joint committees. Industrialists keenly supported the new apprenticeship law. Vocational education and training were being institutionalised. All firms with more than 50 employees were obliged to take on 10 per cent of trainees. Young people were now able to profit from practical experience of the world of work for they could spend two days a week at school and three days in an enterprise. The goal was to provide places for 800 000. So far after six months, there were 65 000. When all young people would have completed eight years of basic schooling it would be easier to integrate apprenticeship programmes with the courses in the *Lises*.

It was true, the Minister added, that the demand for further education and training exceeded the supply. The choice had been made to give priority to vocational and technical over general academic programmes by making them more accessible and attractive. With regard to that, he stressed the tremendous effort under way to improve the provision for foreign language instruction. The number of Anadolou schools had been increased from 25 to 103. A committee of inquiry was currently looking into the whole issue of foreign language teaching.

Many questions were then posed about this item on the agenda. The *delegate of France* asked: what was the primary purpose of the new apprenticeship law? The *delegate of Italy* wished to know about the articulation between the upper secondary and university levels. The *delegate of Australia* asked what kind of career guidance was provided at each level; how were master craftsmen trainers to be trained themselves, and what steps were being taken to involve employees in the reform process. The *delegate of Belgium* wished to know more about the scope of education and training provision in rural areas.

Several delegates inquired about the role of examinations. The *Greek delegate* wondered whether they were not elitist and the *delegate of Belgium* said that schools might concentrate too much on preparing for examinations.

Several questions were asked about the place of private education. The *delegate of Italy*, noting the sharp rise in private school enrolments, asked what the offcial policy was towards private education. Was the intention to strengthen the public sector so that it stands up to competition?

The *delegate of Luxembourg* inquired about the education and training opportunities available to girls and women? Was there a specific policy in favour of increasing these opportunities?

Finally, the *delegate of Italy* asked what happened to the two-thirds of applicants for university admission who were not awarded a place. How many tried their luck abroad?

Dr. Sezal (Turkey) stated that competition between public and private schools was not all that great. For one thing, private schools did not exercise undue influence. The Anadolou schools and many *Lises* in the public sector achieved outstanding results. It was true that two-thirds of the candidates for university admission failed to gain a place but it should be remembered that many of these repeated a year or more of schooling and were successful at the second or third attempt. The number of candidates was no longer increasing. The examination system was centralised and mainly reliant on objective tests; they did not encourage social elitism. Parents and their children were educationally ambitious. Examinations were well regarded and many schools were under pressure, despite the already heavy curriculum load, to make extra provision in order to prepare pupils for them. It would be difficult to reduce examination pressure in the short term. As to educational opportunities for

women, these were very good. Moreover, the academic success rate of girls was very high; they gained 50 per cent of the admissions to university. There were differences in gender equality between urban and rural areas. But it was important to recognize that the number of working women was today very great; 40 per cent of teachers; 30 per cent of university teachers; 60 per cent of the staff in the Ministry of Health. Efforts were made to provide opportunities for pupils in rural areas to prepare for university admission; some were housed in boarding schools.

IV

TEACHER TRAINING

Question 22

The examiners have drawn attention to the problems arising from the transfer of responsibility for teacher training to the universities. How seriously do the Turkish authorities view these problems and what measures are being taken to ensure that the goals set for teacher training are fully achieved?

Question 23

As in many OECD countries there is great concern in Turkey about the quality of the teaching being provided in the schools. Apart from improving initial teacher training, what steps are the authorities taking to improve teaching quality? Will they comment particularly on their plans for developing in-service training and generally upgrading the competence of primary level teachers throughout their working-life span?

Question 24

The actual and potential expansion of vocational education and training points to the necessity of employing an adequate number of teachers suitably qualified to deal with both theory and practice. Where are such teachers to be found and how are they to be trained? Specifically, what is being done to remove the present bottleneck in the supply of teachers and instructors to work within firms?

Mr. Carneiro (examiner) stressed the very large size of the teaching force; in basic education there were no fewer than 260 000. The examiners had noted with interest the Minister's reference in his opening address on improvements in the condition of teaching and teachers. He identified four major isues that called for attention. First, there was the content and organisation of initial training courses. A particular problem was created by the expansion of lower secondary education. In that sector teachers were trained as subject specialists whereas they really needed to have all-round knowledge and communication skills.

Another acute problem was the shortage of teachers of technical and vocational subjects. The second issue concerned the low academic ability of the intake into initial training courses, since they had been taken over by the universities. It also appeared that there was too little connection between the content of courses and the knowledge and skills actually required in the classroom situation. Students destined for rural schools, for instance, required special skills, including how to cope with multigrade classes. As to the third issue, in-service training (INSET), the examiners could not but be impressed by the crash programme provided by the Open University. This was economically effective and a seemingly streamlined operation. The question had to be posed, however: did the Open University programmes lead to a visible improvement in classroom practice? It was difficult to know the answer because there had been no systematic attempt to monitor results. In general, it was necessary to use INSET to enhance practical competence. Was there room for cross-fertilisation among teachers? Could not the excellent teaching centres be used for this purpose? The fourth and last issue concerned the desirability of providing training courses for school principals and educational administrators at all levels.

Dr. Sezal replied that the reform of the content of teacher training was a top priority. Changes in the content of initial training courses were under consideration. The INSET programme was to be further expanded.

Winding up the review meeting on behalf of the examiners, *Mr. Brenner* stated that all present could now see that Turkey was on the move politically, economically and socially. Its commitment to international cooperation and to the ideals of the Western democracies had been made manifest. It must be remembered, however, that Turkey was still to some extent a developing country where certain social injustices had to be removed. In education, the main priorities to emerge from the discussion were: to raise quality all round; to distribute education and training opportunities more widely and equitably; to bring about greater efficiency through more systematic planning, decentralisation and the participation of all concerned with education.

The Minister of Education, Youth and Sports said that Turkey greatly valued its membership of OECD. This review had helped to make its education policies and problems better known. There was no end to what could still be said. But several priorities did stand out. Improving the effectiveness of teachers, the pillars of the system, came first. Next came reaching the target of eight years of basic schooling for all young people. For those who could not rise to the highest educational level there must be adequate preparation for working life. More resources had to be found and existing resources had to be better used. For this, among other reasons, a policy of decentralisation was to be pursued.

Part Three

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY 1984-1986

Report prepared by the Board of Education,
Ministry of National Education,
Youth and Sports, Ankara

I

ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

PRINCIPLES, OBJECTIVES, GOALS AND PRIORITIES OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

General principles regulating national education and basic legislation related to education already in force

Education in Turkey has always been considered to be the most effective instrument of both the democratic and developmental processes. Education and socio-economic development in Turkey are governed by constitutional and legal provisions.

For education the constitution makes the following provisions:

Article 42. No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education.

The scope of the right to education shall be defined and regulated by law.

Training and education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Ataturk, on the basis of contemporary science and education methods, under the supervision and control of the State. Institutions of training and education contravening these provisions shall not be established.

The freedom of training and education does not relieve the individual from loyalty to the Constitution.

Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in State schools.

The principles governing the functioning of private primary and secondary schools shall be regulated by law in keeping with the standards set for State schools.

The State shall provide scholarships and other means of assistance to enable students of merit lacking financial means to continue their education. The State shall take necessary measures to rehabilitate those in need of special training so as to render such people useful to society.

Training, education, research, and study are the only activities that shall be pursued at institutions of training and education. These activities shall not be obstructed in any way.

No language other than Turkish shall be taught as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education. Foreign languages to be taught in institutions of training and education and the rules to be followed by schools conducting training and education in a foreign language shall be determined by law. The provisions of international treaties are reserved.

Article 27. Everyone has the right to study and teach freely, explain, and disseminate science and arts and to carry out research in these fields.

The right to disseminate shall not be exercised for the purpose of changing the provision of Article, 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution.

The provisions of this Article shall not preclude regulation by law of the entry and distribution of foreign publications in the country.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction.

Acts of worship, religious services, and ceremonies shall be conducted freely, provided that they do not violate the provisions of Article 14.

No one shall be compelled to worship, or to participate in religious ceremonies and rites, to reveal religious beliefs and convictions, or be blamed or accused because of his religious beliefs and convictions.

Education and instruction in religion and ethics shall be conducted under State supervision and control. Instruction in religious culture and moral education shall be compulsory in the curricula of primary and secondary schools. Other religious education and instruction shall be subject to the individual's own desire, and in the case of minors, to the request of their legal representatives.

No one shall be allowed to exploit or abuse religion or religious feelings, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political, and legal order of the State on religious tenets.

Article 58. The State shall take measures to ensure the training and development of youth into whose keeping our State, independence, and our Republic are entrusted in the light of contemporary science, in line with the principles and reforms of Ataturk, and in opposition to ideas aiming at the destruction of the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation.

The State shall take necessary measures to protect youth from addiction to alcohol, drug addiction, crime, gambling, and similar vices, and ignorance.

Article 59. The State shall take measures to develop the physical and mental health of Turkish citizens of all ages; and encourage the spread of sports among the masses.

The State shall protect successful athletes.

Article 131. The Higher Education Council shall be established, to plan, organise, administer, and supervise the education provided by institutions of higher education, to orient the activities of teaching, education and scientific research, to ensure the establishment and development of these institutions in conformity with the objectives and principles set forth by law, to ensure the effective use of the resources allocated to the universities, and to plan the training of the teaching staff.

The Higher Education Council is composed of members appointed by the President of the Republic from among the candidates who are nominated by the Council of Ministers. The Chief of the General Staff and the Universities, and in accordance with the number, qualifications and procedure prescribed by law, priority being given to those who have served successfully as Faculty members or Rectors, and of members directly appointed by the President of the Republic himself.

The organisations, functions, authority, responsibility and operating principles of the Council shall be regulated by law.

The principles of the Basic Law of National Education may be summarised as follows:

A. *Universality and equality*

Educational institutions are open to every individual, regardless of language, race, sex and religion. No individual, family, group or class will be accorded any privilege in the education system.

B. *Individual and social needs*

The structure of the educational system will be organised in such a way that Turkish citizens in formal and non-formal educational institutions will be trained in accordance with the needs of society, individual interests and ability, the principle of equality of educational opportunity to further their education....

C. *Orientation*

"Individuals are directed into various programmes or schools in accordance with their interests, aptitudes and abilities throughout their education.
The national education system is to be organised to realise this orientation fully. Guidance services and objective testing and measurement methods are used in the orientation of students and in evaluating their success."

D. *Right to education*

"It is the right of every Turkish citizen to receive a basic education. Citizens can take advantage of post-basic educational institutions commensurate with their interests, aptitudes and abilities."

E. *Equality of Opportunity*

"All citizens, male and female, are assured equal educational opportunity.
Necessary assistance in the form of free boarding facilities, scholarships, loans, etc. is given to successful students who lack the financial resources to enable them to pursue their education to the highest level.
Special measures are taken to train those children who are in need of special education and protection."

F. *Continuity in Education*

It is essential that general and vocational education of individuals should continue throughout life. In addition to the education of younger generations, necessary measures will be taken to provide adults continuing education to help them achieve constructive and productive adjustment to life and to their work environment.

G. Ataturk's reforms and principles and Ataturk's nationalism

Ataturk's Reforms and Principles and Ataturk's Nationalism as expressed in the Constitution are taken as a basis for the preparation and application of the curricula connected with all levels and types of our education system, and in all aspects of educational activity. Emphasis is placed upon protection, promotion and teaching of national morals and national culture within the framework of universal culture), to prevent them from becoming degenerate and perverted.
Emphasis is placed upon the teaching of the Turkish language, one of the basic elements of our national unity, at all levels of education, without debasing its qualities or going to extremes. Efforts are made to enrich it to become a language of contemporary learning and science, and necessary measures are taken by the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, in cooperation with the Ataturk Higher Institution of Culture, Language, and History, to further these goals.

H. Education for democracy

"Efforts are made in all education activities to help students develop the necessary awareness of democracy and to acquire information about and understanding of the government of the country, and a sense of responsibility and respect for moral values which are essential for the realisation and continuation of a free, strong, and stable democratic social order; but political and ideological propaganda and involvement in daily political events and discussions that are contrary to Ataturk's nationalism as described in the Constitution will not be tolerated in educational institutions under any circumstances."

J. Secularism

"In Turkish national education secularism is a fundamental principle. Instruction in religious culture and ethics is among the compulsory subjects taught in primary and middle schools and *lycées* and equivalent schools."

K. Scientific Approach

"The curriculum for each level and type of school, as well as sound educational methods and training aids and materials, are continually developed and updated in line with recent scientific and technological developments and adapted to the needs of the environment and country.
Increased productivity in education and its continuous development and renewal are to be based on scientific research and evaluation.
Educational institutions responsible for producing knowledge and technology and developing our culture are to be equipped and strengthened. Work in this direction is to be encouraged and supported both morally and financially."

L. Planned education

National education will be planned in order to meet socio-economic and cultural needs of the individuals and society; and this system of education will be so restructured as to be able to renew itself and to conform...to changes taking place in these needs and targets...

M. Co-education

"In schools, co-education is a basic principle. However, dependent upon the type of education, facilities and requirements, some schools are allocated only to girls or only to boys."

N. School-Parent cooperation

"Close cooperation is maintained between parents and the schools to assist in the realisation of the objectives of the educational institutions.
Parent-Teacher Associations are established in school for this purpose.
The principles and procedures for setting up and managing Parent-Teacher Associations are specified in a regulation to be issued by the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports.

O. Education everywhere

National education objectives will be pursued not only at educational institutions, but also at home, in the environment, on the job, and everywhere and at every opportunity...

The educational activities of each institution, public, private and voluntary, are subject to supervision by the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports to ensure conformity to the objectives of national education."

Specific aims and objectives of National Education from the point of view of the national development targets and social, cultural and educational needs of the society

The Great Leader Ataturk has specified the ultimate goal of the Turkish society by his statement, "....we will raise our national culture above the level of contemporary civilisation." In fact, this ultimate goal is expressed in the 1982 Constitution of the Turkish Republic as "....the determination to safeguard the everlasting existence, prosperity and material and spiritual well-being of the Republic of Turkey, and to ensure that it attains the standards of contemporary civilisation, as a full and honourable member of the world family of nations."

At this point, to reach this ultimate goal, the Turkish Republic should be protected, the Turkish society should develop and progress.

The national development targets of the Turkish society are specified in the third Five-Year Development Plan in the following way:

- Raising the standard of living,
- Industrialisation,
- Reducing dependence on foreign resources
- Solution of the unemployment problem,
- Improving income distribution.

As to the objectives of national education, they are expressed in the Basic Law of National Education, both in general and in specific terms, from the point of view of national development targets and the social, cultural and educational needs of the society.

The general objectives of the Turkish National Education as defined in the aforesaid law are:

A. To bring up each member of the Turkish nation to be a citizen devoted to Ataturk's reforms and principles and Ataturk's nationalism as expressed in the Constitution; who adopts protects and promotes the national, moral, human spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation; who loves his family, nation and country and always tries to advance them; who is aware of his duties and responsibilities towards the Turkish Republic, a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law, based on human rights and basic principles set forth in the preamble of the Constitution: and who makes this awareness a part of his behaviour:

B. To bring up all Turkish citizens as constructive, innovative and productive individuals who are balanced physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and emotionally, who have sound personalities and characters; who are free and scientific-minded with broad, world-wide perspectives; who respect human rights and value personality and initiative; and who have a sense of responsibility towards the society.

C. To prepare all Turkish citizens for life by developing their interests, talents and abilities to enable them to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, habits of cooperation and professional skills to make them happy and enable them to contribute to the welfare of the society.

Thus, to enhance the happiness and living standards of Turkish citizens and the Turkish society and to support and accelerate economic, social and cultural development in an atmosphere of national unity and cooperation; and finally to make the Turkish nation a constructive, creative and distinguished member of contemporary civilisation."

The objective of national education, in summary, is to train "good people", "good citizens", and "qualified manpower."

The specific aims and objectives of national education will be stated in relevant sections below.

Priorities of Turkish National Education

The basic priorities of Turkish National Education between the years 1984 and 1986 are indicated below:

A. The first priority is to raise the schooling rate in primary education (7 to 11 age group) to 100 %.

B. Emphasising technical and vocational education was the second priority; but, after September 12, 1980, the literacy campaign became the second priority as it was believed that raising the rate of literacy of the society would yield more positive results.

C. Emphasising technical and vocational education is the third priority. As a result, the aim was to channel 65 % of the school age children in secondary education to technical education and 35 % to general education by 1995.

D. Another priority is to extend comprehensive schools where multi-purpose programmes were to be offered to 60 % of the children in secondary schools by the 1995/96 school year.

E. Some of the other priority areas are: taking the necessary measures to raise the quality of national education; developing technological education at the primary level; improving the teaching of science, mathematics, foreign language, Turkish, history and geography.

ORGANISATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

In Turkey, there is a centralized state administrative system. In terms of the central administrative structure, it is divided into provinces on the basis of geographical considerations, economic conditions and public service requirements; provinces are further divided into lower level administrative districts.

The executive function of the State is carried out by the Ministries. The Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports is responsible for the performance, supervision and control of all educational services on behalf of the State, in conformity with the provisions of the Basic Law of National Education.

Organisation and administration

The present education system in Turkey includes both formal and non-formal education. Essentially formal education comprises basic (elementary school and junior high school), secondary and higher education.

Non-formal education covers learning activities organised within and outside formal education institutions. It caters for those who passed through the formal education system without acquiring reading and writing skills, in addition to those wishing to improve their general education or undertake vocational training.

Educational administration is centralised under the control of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry is responsible for drawing up curricula, coordinating the work of official, private and voluntary organisations, designing and building schools, developing educational materials, etc.

A simplified version of the central organisation of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports is shown in Chart 1.

There are two "advisory bodies" in the central system. One of these, the National Convention of Education, is convened every year by the Minister of Education and makes suggestions on almost all matters related to education. The convention is a legal entity. The usual procedure is that public institutions and some private institutions are represented in the convention.

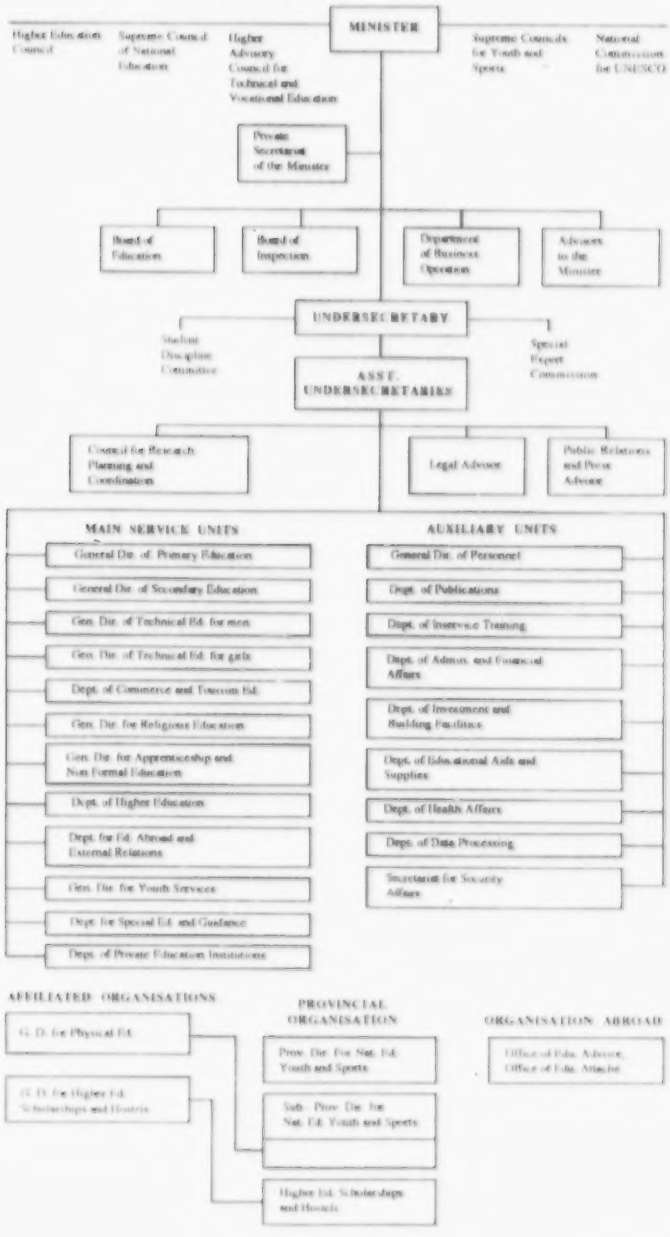
The second advisory body is the Board of Education. It is a permanent organisation. The members of the Board are appointed by the Minister. The functions of the Board are various: design of curricula, examinations, approval of textbooks, etc. However its decisions can only be finalised after the Minister himself has approved. Policy for higher education, on the other hand, is the responsibility of the Higher Education Council.

A Board of Ministerial Inspectors inspects secondary schools directly and supervises provincial inspectors of primary schools. Similarly, the inspection and supervision of the elementary schools are don by Inspectors of Elementary Education.

Local organisations

Educational affairs in the provinces are organised by the Directors of National Education, Youth and Sports, who are appointed by the Minister; however, they work under the direction of the provincial governor. There are 67 provinces in Turkey, each headed by an appointed governor.

Chart 1 CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, YOUTH AND SPORTS


MINISTER
Higher Education Council
Supreme Council of National Education
Higher Advisory Council for Technical and Vocational Education
Supreme Councils for Youth and Sports
National Commission for UNESCO
Private Secretariat of the Minister
Board of Education
Board of Inspection
Department of Business Operation
Advisers to the Minister
UNDERSECRETARY
Student Discipline Committee
Special Expert Commission
ASST. UNDERSECRETARIES
Council for Research Planning and Coordination
Legal Advisor
Public Relations and Press Advisor
MAIN SERVICE UNITS
General Dir. of Primary Education
General Dir. of Secondary Education
Gen. Dir. of Technical Ed. for men
Gen. Dir. of Technical Ed. for girls
Dept. of Commerce and Tourism Ed.
Gen. Dir. for Religious Education
Gen. Dir. for Apprenticeship and Non Formal Education
Dept. of Higher Education
Dept. for Ed. Abroad and External Relations
Gen. Dir. for Youth Services
Dept. for Special Ed. and Guidance
Dept. of Private Education Institutions
AUXILIARY UNITS
General Dir. of Personnel
Dept. of Publications
Dept. of Inservice Training
Dept. of Admin. and Financial Affairs
Dept. of Investment and Building Facilities
Dept. of Educational Aids and Supplies
Dept. of Health Affairs
Dept. of Data Processing
Secretariat for Security Affairs
AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS
G. D. for Physical Ed.
G. D. for Higher Ed. Scholarships and Hostels
PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION
Prov. Dir. For Nat. Ed. Youth and Sports
Sub - Prov. Dir. for Nat. Ed. Youth and Sports
Higher Ed. Scholarships and Hostels
ORGANISATION ABROAD
Office of Edu. Advisor, Office of Edu. Attache

Provincial offices of education, however, are relatively powerless in determining general educational policies, but they take care of the other issues of the provinces. Primary school inspectors are attached to the provincial directorates of education, though they are answerable to the Board of Inspection. They are responsible not only for the supervision of pre-primary and primary schools but also adult education institutions, children's libraries, and all kinds of privately organised schools and courses. Furthermore, Adult Education directorates, educational materials directorates, and special education and guidance centres exist at the provincial level.

As mentioned above, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports is the centre for policy and decision-making for the system. Middle and *lycée*-level schools correspond through provincial offices, and teacher assignments for the nation as a whole are made from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports at all levels.

In the Sub-provinces there is a sub-provincial education, youth and sports directorate.

FINANCING OF EDUCATION

Financing of education consists of the funds allocated for education out of the General Budget and out of the private budget of the provinces, and the financial aids made by the people.

Contribution is at country level, to the realisation of the goals of Turkish National Education is provided through Ministry of the National Education Foundation.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM TODAY

The present structure of the Turkish Education system includes pre-primary, formal and adult (non-formal) education sub-systems (see Chart 2).

A. Pre-primary education

Primary education may be preceded by an optimal pre-school establishment which serves 3-6 year-old children.

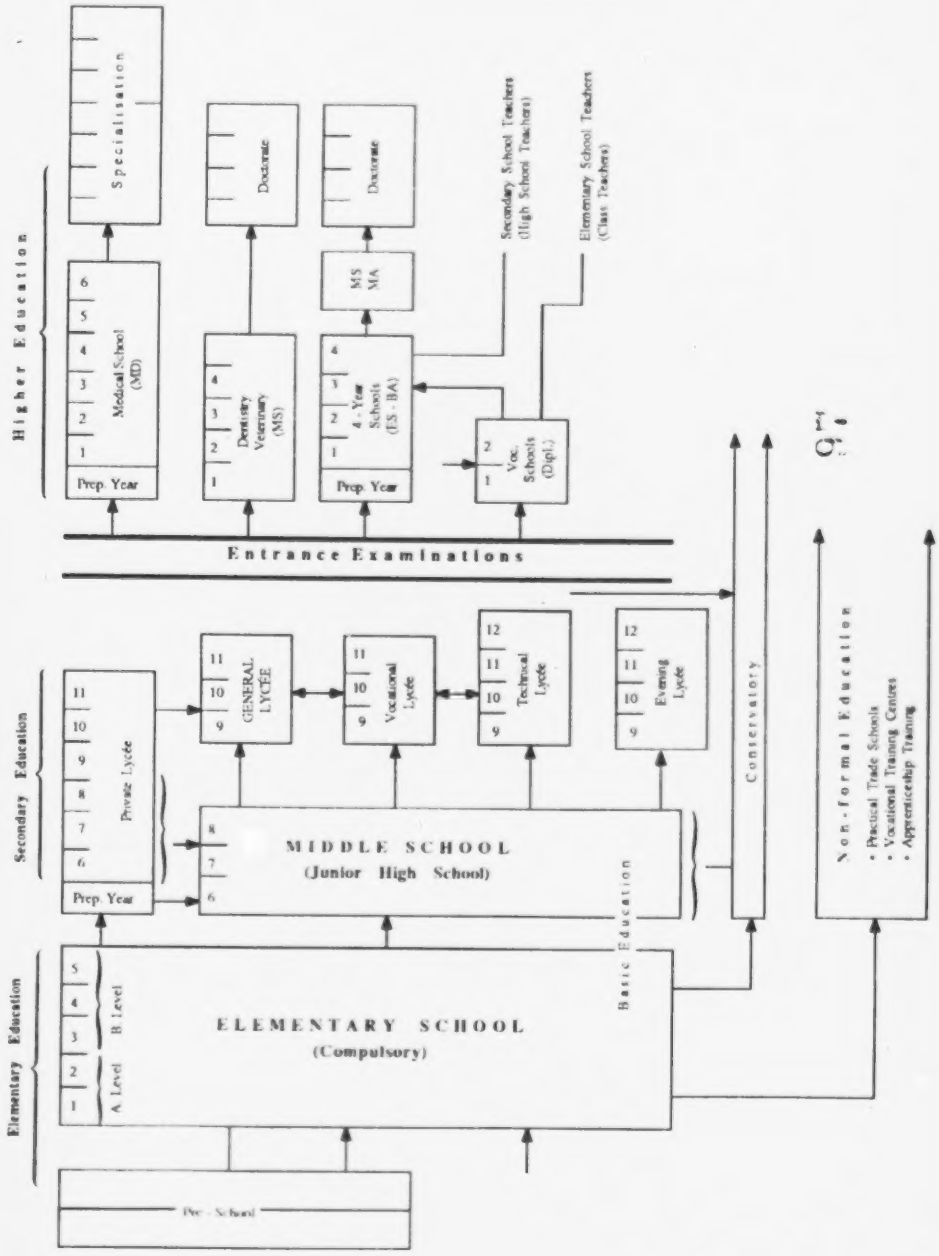
"Daycare Centres" and "Homes for Children" are connected to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, "Pre-Primary Classes" and "Lab Kindergartens" are connected to the Ministry of National Education.

B. Formal education

1. Basic education

The concept of "basic education" which has come into Turkey in 1973 with the "The Basic Law of National Education – 1789" is being used to cover a longer and fuller period of education than what is meant by "elementary."

Chart 2 THE TURKISH EDUCATION SYSTEM



Basic education institutions are organised to give 8 years of education and are in a way a combination of primary school and middle school. Hence basic education comprises two cycles, the first consists of the primary school and the second of the middle school.

At the present time the transition from primary and middle schools into 8-year basic education schools is being experimented with in about 200 pilot schools. Since the basic education is rather a new practice in Turkey, it is thought that the educational programme and other related procedures should be tried out before going into wider implementation.

a) Primary schools

Primary education, which is compulsory, lasts five years; it is co-educational and, in the case of state schools, it is free.

The primary school starts when a child has completed 6 years of age and continues until 11, or until 14 in some cases. The upper limit is usually extended to 17 in the cases of those who are unable to complete it, for various reasons, by the age of 14.

According to a recent change in the regulations those children who complete 5 years of age will start primary education from the beginning of 1983/84 school year on.

b) Middle schools

Traditionally, middle schools in Turkey are for the 12-14 age group. Middle schools had been considered as the lower section of secondary education and organised to give 3 years of instruction after the 5 years compulsory elementary education.

The basic function of middle school is twofold: To prepare students for their further education and to build on to the compulsory education.

Middle school is co-educational and in state schools it is free.

2. Secondary education

Secondary education follows primary education or middle school and covers general, vocational and technical high schools (*lycées*) which give a minimum of three years schooling.

Every pupil who has completed his/her primary education (or middle school) is eligible for secondary education. Secondary education is also free in Turkey as primary education.

a) General high schools

As in middle schools, high schools do not prepare students for a specific profession but rather train students for higher educational institutions. One basic difference from the junior high school, or middle school, however, is the specialised programme for students who have made a choice between various educational branches.

In their second year, students in high schools where the general programme is taught, have a choice of attending science or literature branches. In high schools where the modern programme is followed, students have also a choice, in their second year, between science and literature branches. Furthermore, students in science branch have also another choice in their third year between mathematics and natural sciences sections.

b) Vocational high schools

Vocational high schools which provide a 3-year secondary education following the middle school prepare students for a vocational life in their particular field and for higher education. These schools are categorised, as follows: teacher training *lycées*, religious *lycées*, commercial vocational *lycées*, industrial vocational *lycées*, agricultural *lycées*, etc.

c) Technical high schools

Technical high schools, based on middle school, have a 4-year education programme. First-year subjects are common with vocational high schools. Technical high schools prepare students for a job and/or higher education.

In these schools there are 12 sections at present, such as machinery, electricity, electronics, metals, construction, etc.

3. Higher education

Since the number of applicants is much more than the places available at higher education institutions there is a central entrance examination in Turkey for those secondary school graduates who want to continue their education.

Higher education institutions educate students at a more intellectually complex level.

At higher education level, faculties, institutes and higher schools are found within universities which may have pre-bachelor, bachelor and graduate programmes in various fields.

Universities are represented on the Higher Education Board (YÖK).

C. Adult education

Adult education in Turkey is conceived as an extension of educational opportunities to people who either could not benefit from their formal education in childhood or who require, by their specific circumstances of life, to enlarge their knowledge or skills. At the same time adult education serves to meet the educational objectives of the society.

Adult education programmes are conducted both within and outside the formal education system. The programmes are organised by a variety of governmental bodies, national institutions, and voluntary organisations in various forms.

The overall responsibility for the adult education policy and development rests with the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports. The Ministry itself, within the framework of formal educational institutions, organises evening schools and courses for all people at all levels and in all types of places such as evening middle schools, evening general high schools, evening commercial high schools offering certificates and diplomas. These schools for adults aim to extend and sometimes complete the formal education of the adult participants. There are mobile teams which provide courses for village communities. Through these courses, village people are trained in needed vocations and, at the same time, general educational opportunities are provided for them.

Outside the formal educational framework, the Ministry has established non-formal vocational and technical education institutions such as practical trade schools, public training centres, apprenticeship training centres and adult training centres.

Apprenticeship training centres

There are 59 apprenticeship training centres, 40 of which operate within the industrial vocational schools and 19 on separate premises. Apprenticeship training lasts three to four years. In the 1983/84 academic year there were 6 700 apprentices enrolled in the centres. This type of training covers 40 industrial trade areas.

Public training centres

There are 652 public training centres to train school-leavers and adults to improve their chances of gaining employment and generating income. At these centres, basic training, social and cultural training, and vocational and technical training programmes are offered. Programme durations and levels differ according to the needs of individuals and the subject areas. In the 1984/85 academic year, total enrolment for trade training programmes, training programmes in skills suitable for domestic crafts, agricultural training programmes, and business skills training programmes was 671 523 of which 533 150 finished the programme.

Practical trade schools

Practical trade schools accept out-of-school youth. The minimum requirement for entering these schools is having a primary school diploma. Every industrial vocational high school has a right to open such schools outside the hours of regular working day; or during working hours of the day, depending upon physical facilities, availability of teaching staff and wish of attendants. There are 53 practical trade schools, 49 of which are operated within the industrial vocational high schools and four of them in separate premises. They offer programmes in 28 trade areas. Programmes are modular type and 80 per cent workshop content. The length of programmes ranges from 8 to 20 months. There are also 463 practical trade schools for girls. These schools offer 84 different programmes in 7 subject areas. Programmes last 16 to 256 hours. It is also possible to design a new course to meet the needs of individuals in a specific region, and there are 37 such programmes offered at present.

Adult technical training centres

There are two types of adult technical training centres: *(a)* for primary school graduates, *(b)* for general high school graduates. The former are the same as practical trade schools, but they serve the 15-20 age group. The latter are designed to train general high school graduates who are not able to get into higher education and who want to get into industry and do not have the necessary skills and knowledge in a specific industrial trade area. For each trade area there are a number of modules. After successful completion of each module, a trainee is qualified for a certificate. If a trainee completes the whole series of modules in a specific trade area he/she is entitled to get a diploma equivalent to the one given by industrial vocational high schools. This type of programme is offered at 26 industrial vocational high schools.

II

DEVELOPMENTS IN NATIONAL EDUCATION BETWEEN 1984 AND 1986

New trends

The term "primary education" is now preferred to the term "basic education" because of practical and technical reasons. In this new context primary education covers the education of children of 6-14 years of age. As a result of this new labelling and the organisation that followed, the school starting age has been lowered one year to the age of 6. Furthermore, it was decided that primary education, with its new coverage should be made compulsory for all citizens, male and female, and be free of charge in state schools. Hence, the period of compulsory education which was 5 years previously, was increased to 8 years. However, because of certain factors and budgetary limitations, it was decided that the implementation of the new system be made gradually and completed by the year 2005.

1. In addition, the preparation and development of the practical education programme of 8-year primary education schools is still continuing.

2. Research has been done in cooperation with UNESCO in order to evaluate this new eight-year primary school implementation. According to the results of the research, necessary changes in the schools will continue to be made.

3. The middle schools have been integrated into the primary education establishments.

4. This new practice has been continuing in 634 schools.

Extension of pre-school education has been given great priority for those children who cannot speak Turkish accurately and properly, for workers' children and for those children who live in shantytowns, and in rural areas. The number of kindergartens (pubic and private) which was 435 and that of nursery classes which was 4 300 previously, have been increased to 472 and 4 336 respectively, since 1984.

The efforts for the extension of pre-school education will be continued on the basis of the aforementioned priorities. It is planned to increase the schooling rate for the 5-6 age group.

which was 3 per cent in the 1983/84 school year to 10 per cent in the 1988/89 school year. This will contribute, to a great extent, to providing equality of educational opportunity.

Law No. 2841, dated June 16, 1983 on "Making the Illiterate Citizens who are Beyond the Compulsory School Age Literates, or Training them on the Primary School Level".

By this law, non-formal primary education has become compulsory for citizens between the ages of 15 and 45, and optional for those citizens above the age of 45; the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, along with other institutions was made responsible to implement this law. At present, the implementation of this law is continuing.

In addition to the above law, certain other measures were also taken, for example "Decree Having the Force of law about the Organisation and Functions of the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports" No. 179 dated 14 December, 1983, and the Decree Having the Force of law No. 208 amending some articles of the previous decree.

By these decrees, the Ministry of National Education, which was established in 1923 and organised according to organisation law enacted in 1926 and 1933, has been reorganised after the amalgamation with the Ministry of Youth and Sports. The improvement of the organisation is still continuing. A new development in this period worth mentioning is the enactment of the law concerning the apprenticeship training and vocational education.

A new development in this period worth mentioning is the enactment of the law concerning the apprenticeship training. This law which came into force on 19 June, 1986 has been prepared in order to give a dynamic structure to the vocational and technical education needed to meet the manpower needs of the country.

Priority has been given in this law to those wishing to be trained through the adult and apprenticeship training and to work in various trades up to technician levels. The practical training of the students who are being trained in formal vocational schools is provided at appropriate workplaces.

The new law

The new law covers the following innovations.

a) The age for apprenticeship has been raised to 14. Those who have finished primary school will be trained if they so wish as candidate apprentices up to the apprenticeship age.

b) The period of apprenticeship training varies from three to four years, according to the requirements of the occupation.

c) Candidate apprentices and apprentices attend courses of theoretical instruction one day a week and practical or applied training four days a week. The practical training is given at real workplaces and under real work conditions.

d) The students of vocational *lycées* will acquire in the first grade the basic theory and skills at schools. The students will take practical training at the workplace and under real conditions three days a week and they will acquire their theoretical education at schools two days a week.

e) Trade courses will be organised to meet the demand of the labour market for those who do not fulfil the requirements for employment.

f) The enterprises will take the responsibility of organising training courses for their employees to raise the level of competence and to adapt themselves to the new technologies.

g) Courses will be organised for those persons who need special education.

h) "The Councils for Apprenticeship Training and Vocational Education" are formed in the provinces to plan, develop and evaluate the apprenticeship and vocational education. In these councils, there are representatives drawn from the various ministries, labour unions, employers and professional societies.

i) A fund is established to improve the quality and quantity of apprenticeship, vocational and technical education.

j) The Technical and Vocational Education Research and Development Centre has been established by the Ministry to conduct the necessary planning research and development activities.

As is known, in the implementation of educational policies, teachers play an important role: 115 968 new teachers were employed and the present ones were redistributed to obtain a better balanced distribution. Moreover, 178 608 officials have been promoted.

Salaries of teachers have been increased considerably within the budgetary possibilities.

Some rights and possibilities have been provided for the teachers in connection with their children attending school.

Programmes

A number of new programmes have been introduced within the last two years including the teaching of English, Turkish and Turkish culture. Turkish for migrant workers' children abroad, music in lower secondary and upper secondary schools, and philosophy, sociology, logic, national history, geography and civics at the upper secondary level.

This year a new law (No. 3308) was enacted on apprenticeship and vocational training. In accordance with this law, new programmes will be introduced in the area of vocational education for men and women, tourism and commercial education. Apprenticeship training and adult education are to be offered for those who will undergo vocational training in enterprises. The programmes on offer include the making of ready-made clothing, hair-dressing, food technology, textiles, graphic arts, ceramics, ceramic arts, hotel and tourism management.

Rules and regulations

Rules and regulations have been renewed parallel to the reorganisation of the education system.

During the 1985/86 school year, 12 new regulations were issued concerning such matters as guidance, special schools, high schools and evaluation of educational materials.

DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

Developments in schooling and enrolments

Between the academic years 1983/84 and 1985/86 the schooling ratio has increased in primary education from 98.3 to 98.9 per cent, in middle school from 43.7 to 54.4 per cent, in secondary education from 26.4 to 31.4 per cent.

Development in the number of teachers and schools

Between the academic years 1983/84 and 1985/86, the number of teachers reached 211 797 in primary education (an increase of 1.9 per cent) 43 329 in the middle schools (an increase of 6.9 per cent), 89 426 in high schools (an increase of 9.1 per cent).

In the same period, the number of middle schools has reached 5 130, an increase of 5.6 per cent, the number of high schools (general and vocational) 2 556, and increase of 0.4 per cent. On the other hand, the number of general *lycées* increased from 1 081 to 1 256.

Technical and vocational education has been emphasised at the secondary education level. The number of technical and vocational *lycées* for girls has reached 269. The number of technical and vocational *lycées* for boys has increased from 382 to 442. The number of commercial and tourism *lycées* has reached 195. It is planned that technical and vocational secondary education should be offered to 65 per cent of the age group at secondary education level by 1995. In addition, one Anatolian commercial *lycée*, two Anatolian girls vocational *lycées* and one Anatolian cooking vocational high school, where some of the courses are taught in a foreign language, were opened.

Furthermore, five Anatolian *lycées* where some of the courses are taught in a foreign language were opened.

In addition to the science *lycée* which was opened in Ankara in 1962 for children who are highly gifted in science, three more science *lycées* opened, one in Gaziantep, one in Malatya and the other in Kayseri.

Several projects are being implemented with the aim of improving the vocational education for girls and boys. These projects are as follows:

- Improvement of the present curricula;
- Organisation of knitting courses for women in the region of Erzurum within the frame of UNESCO Technical Assistance project;
- In order to make vocational and technical schools for girls more productive, the project of cooperation in production is implemented;
- Courses have been arranged in cooperation with the State Ministry in order to train the unemployed youth for skills.

On the other hand, a project agreement has been signed between the Ministry and the World Bank. The aims of this project are:

1. To supply new machines and equipment to the schools.
2. To train technical teachers abroad.
3. To write new textbooks or to translate foreign books on the new technologies.

Developments in non-formal education and in other educational programmes related to the youth and adults

At the moment, more than 128 educational programmes are being applied in non-formal education. These programmes are reorganised continuously according to the characteristics of the environment and the needs of adult students. Non-formal education consists of two main sections: general non-formal education and technical and vocational non-formal education. These sections are prepared so as to support each other.

The most important event in the field of non-formal education during the last several years is the "literacy campaign".

Following the declaration of the Republic in 1923, educational activities have been accepted as one of the most important duties of the State. Within this context, activities concerning the progression of literacy have been organised by the Ministry of National Education.

In 1928, Turkey became aware of the fact that literacy played an important role in the economic and cultural development of society as well as in the advancement of the individual.

Literacy campaigns were started for the first time by Ataturk, the founder of the Republic.

Accordingly, many People's Schools were established all over the country and the number of literate people increased through these programmes. However, the 1985 population census results reveal that the problem of illiteracy still exists. In order to solve this problem and to reach the goal of improving the literacy rate, a new literacy campaign has been started within the context of the plans and programmes prepared by the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, upon the directives of the National Security Council, dated March 23, 1981.

As a result of the literacy acquisition activities being carried on successfully, the goals set up before the campaign have been achieved to a great extent. Today, the basic aim of literacy acquisition courses is to promote the continuity of literacy and to develop individuals to the upper limit of their ability. Literate individuals are being encouraged in the habit of reading, through providing them with supplementary publications.

Among activities aimed at increasing the number of literate people, the priorities are as follows:

a)	Sex	:	Women
b)	Economic sectors	:	Agricultural sector
c)	Regions	:	Underdeveloped regions
d)	Age	:	Economically active population of 14-44 years of age
e)	In general	:	All illiterate citizens and those who do not have a primary school education.

Two different programmes are being followed during literacy acquisition activities, according to the level of the trainees. The first of these programmes is "Literacy Courses for Adults and 1st Level Education Programmes". This programme is aimed at solving the problems faced in daily life by adults. It is prepared with a flexible content, taking into consideration the interests and needs of the participants and the special features of the region. The duration of these courses is 90 hours. This period may be shortened or extended, according to the special conditions and requirements of the participants. Subjects such as basic arithmetic, hygiene, family health, family planning, nutrition, civics, Ataturk's Reforms and Principles have been emphasised in the programme. The second type of programme is the "2nd Level Education Programme". This programme has been prepared with the purpose of continuing the training given in the 1st level courses and giving those who completed them the opportunity to attend the upper level courses. The second level programme has been prepared with the aim of rendering literacy programmes more functional. Those who successfully complete the six-month (180 hours) programme are given a primary school diploma.

Popular books on different subjects have been prepared to ensure that the reading and writing ability given to the trainees is maintained. Alphabet books, programmes, instructor's guides, posters and other documents have been sent to the people, institutions and organisations concerned to be used in the literacy courses which have been opened to teach reading and writing to illiterate citizens abroad.

Alphabet books, programmes, books and supplementary material prepared for use in literacy campaigns have been printed in huge quantities and have been distributed to the participants, administrators and teachers free of charge.

The capabilities of all public, private, autonomous and voluntary organisations and the universities have been combined to ensure uniformity of service in the literacy campaign and to increase efficiency.

Promotional activities

1. Free promotional materials including handkerchiefs, school bags, pocket and wall calendars, postcards, posters and other similar items were distributed at no cost to introduce the programme and to motivate prospective students.
2. A Literacy Campaign postage stamp is in use.
3. Free medical care in all state-owned hospitals was provided for the participants in the literacy courses.
4. Several million leaflets with slogans encouraging literacy training were printed and dropped all over the country by airplane.
5. Religious holiday and new year greeting cards with printed promotional slogans were mailed to Governors, Directors of National Education, Subgovernors, Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs of Adult Education and to Directors of Adult Education Centres.
6. Successful trainees were given free summer holidays.
7. Shields were given to agencies and organisations contributing to the success of the literacy campaign, and Merit of Good and Best Service Certificates were issued to instructors and managers of the literacy campaign as an appreciation of their outstanding performance.
8. In order to motivate the participants to learn how to read and write and to take the primary school diploma, the following incentives were introduced:
   a) Student identification cards were issued to all trainees during the courses;
   b) Priority was given to the children of poor participants for taking credits in the high school;
   c) Priority was given to the children of the participants for places in nurseries and kindergartens;
   d) Priority was given to literate applicants in getting jobs;
   e) Successful participants were given priority for receiving bank credits that could be used at cooperatives and to buy fertilisers.

In-service training

Leave of absence is given to 43 teachers to complete their BA education and to five teachers to complete their MA education.

29 teachers are allowed to attend the courses in the Middle East Public Administration Institute.

A foreign language course of 7 months duration was arranged for the math and science teachers to be employed in Anatolian high schools.

237 teachers have participated in English, French, German and Arabic language courses in state modern language centres.

The University of Anadolou has started a two-year higher level programme for primary teachers holding normal school diplomas. This is an offer for 130 000 primary school teachers.

This programme may also be considered as an academic approach to in-service education of teachers.

On the other hand, in-service training of foreign language teachers is being carried out with the cooperation of the Council of Europe within the context of the Improvement of Foreign Language Teaching Project. This in-service training activity continued between 1984-86.

These activities can be summarised as follows:

1. Summer Courses

In 1984 two summer courses in German, English and French were held; in 1985 and 1986, one course each in German, English and French was given. In these courses, resource persons and experts were employed as instructors. The curricula of these courses were designed by the Board of Education. In these courses, the contemporary theoretical and applied teaching methodology and the effective use of textbooks and teacher's manuals in class activities were strongly emphasized.

Furthermore, with the financial support of a private bank, two courses at the Middle East Technical University and Bogazici University were organised in 1984 and 1985.

In 1986 in addition to the above, French and German courses were held at Hacettepe University. In each of these courses 150 teachers were trained.

2. Local seminars

Within the framework of the Council of Europe projects, local seminars were organised in 1984 in English, French and German and seminars in German only, in 1983-86.

In these seminars, development in foreign language teaching was taught, practice teaching in the class was conducted and books and teachers' guides were introduced.

3. Training of trainers

The education of trainers, which had begun in 1983, was continued in 1984 and 1985. These courses were organised for German and French teachers in 1984, and for German teachers only in 1985. In each of these courses 75 teachers participated.

Publications

To implement the purpose of this project, three bulletins were published in three languages. Study grants were provided for the teachers who successfully participated in the trainers summer courses.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The following research has been done within the last two years.

1. The socio-economic problem of the 12-24 age group.
2. The need assessment of Anatolian *lycées*
3. The improvement project of foreign *lycées*.
4. Research on the socio-economic background of Anatolian *lycée* students.
5. Research about the issues of the 8-year basic education.

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